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THE REVOLUTIONARY SPIRIT.

M. BLANQUI was recently visited by a Correspondent of the *Times*, who paid the visit for the express purpose of affording M. BLANQUI an opportunity of placing a definite record of his opinions before the English public. Among other things, M. BLANQUI informed his visitor that the revolutionary spirit was the same thing as the modern spirit. Of the revolutionary spirit M. BLANQUI claimed, with justice, to be an adequate exponent. He hates all Governments, and has been the impartial adversary of every Government that has in his time held power in France. He hates the priests, he hates people who have any considerable amount of property. In a dim way he recognized that, even if he had his own way entirely, there must still be a Government of some sort; there must be an army; and, unless mankind was to starve, there would be need for some sort of property, and some protection for the property that existed. But he did not trouble himself much about the arrangements of the future. All he knew was that they must be different from those of the present. This appears to be a fair summary of the views, not only of M. BLANQUI, but of the Russian Nihilists, and also of many of the German Socialists. When, therefore, the German or the Russian Government speaks of the revolutionary party in Europe as creating a danger common to all Governments, it is not dreaming of an imaginary danger, even when it seems to ignore that the danger is great in one country and very slight in another. On the other hand, M. BLANQUI had a foundation of truth when he said that the revolutionary spirit and the modern spirit were identical; and M. BLANQUI evidently considered that when he had said of the revolutionary spirit that it was the same as the modern spirit, he had said everything for it that any reasonable person could wish. There is a deep persuasion in many minds on the Continent that the things which men have learnt to desire since the French Revolution are right and wise simply because they desire them. The revolutionists are thus justified in their own eyes by their enthusiasm. They feel that they have accepted a faith, and, like many other persons who accept a faith, they do not so much pry into its origin and meaning as bathe about its supposed consequences. Faith of any kind prompts to action, even if it is action of that negative kind which consists in standing on the top of a column; and faith also leads to sociability among the faithful. Modern revolutionists conspire almost for the sake of conspiring, not so much with any definite aim as to keep their hands in and to feel as if they were doing something for the cause; and those in one country love to communicate with those in other countries, and are fortified by the consciousness that they are part of a great brotherhood. M. BLANQUI is a fair type of the revolutionist who is always ready to conspire. If he could not get a share in a conspiracy, he felt like an opera singer who cannot get a lucrative engagement. The International was the exponent of the desire for the joint action of a brotherhood. At different times the revolutionary spirit takes different forms. Its latest form has been that of trying to kill unoffending sovereigns. All the recent attempts on the lives of kings have had this in common, that the person attacked was attacked simply because he was a king, and not because, being a king, he had given special offence. It seemed to the fanatics who committed and prompted the deed that, if monarchs had a sufficient warning, they

would not think it worth while to reign, and so an approach would be made to some undefined goal. Indefiniteness of aim, coupled with promptitude of action, is the characteristic of the revolutionary spirit; and cases in which this spirit has manifested itself by attacks on sovereigns are thus to be distinguished from cases in which a victim of the *coup d'état* has sought vengeance on the author of a crime, or a Pole has endeavoured to punish the destroyer of his country.

In England, from a variety of causes, the revolutionary spirit is almost, if not entirely, unknown. It is difficult to criticize a thing of which we have no practical experience; and in England there is accordingly a tendency either to despise too much the manifestations of the revolutionary spirit, or to ascribe too much importance to them. But experience seems to warrant the observation that the revolutionary spirit, when it constitutes a real danger to Governments, only takes this character because there are local causes to give it weight and volume. Prince BISMARCK seems as much afraid of the Socialists as ever, and he is now engaged in trying to coax the Parliament into allowing him to prosecute a deputy who brought a copy of a forbidden journal in his pocket into the sacred precincts of Berlin. If we look into the causes which make the revolutionary spirit under the form of Socialism seem so formidable to Prince BISMARCK, we soon find that the chief of these causes is a local one. German Socialism is, above all things, an expression of the repugnance which its adherents feel for the sacrifices imposed by the maintenance of a vast standing army on a country that is at once poor and yet educated enough to feel the growing wants of civilization. In order to uphold the political position which he has acquired for Germany, Prince BISMARCK thinks it necessary to stamp out the first manifestations of disaffection and of opposition to the military system by which the commanding position of Germany in Europe has been won. In Russia the local causes are so prominent and so powerful that they seem to swallow up the general causes which have produced the present outbreak of the revolutionary spirit. If it is asked whether this outbreak is a manifestation of the general revolutionary spirit, it must be answered that it is so to some extent; for its promoters seem imbued more or less with this spirit, and there are among them some who are members of the special revolutionary sect of Nihilists, and others who are affiliated to the revolutionary European brotherhood. But all that is really characteristic and really dangerous in the Russian outbreak is purely local. The outbreak is directed not against a Government because it is a Government, but because it is of a particular nature, and has done, and is in the habit of doing, particular things. The revolt is a revolt against a Government which is said to be unbearably tyrannical and hopelessly corrupt. It is not, as the SPEAKER assumed when he undertook to Bowdlerize Sir ROBERT PEEL's question, a rising of a sect. It is the endeavour of a number of despairing persons to get rid of a horrible incubus on their daily life. As the revolutionary spirit exists in many countries, the sovereigns who are suffering from any manifestations of it naturally fix their attention on its general character; and the Emperors of RUSSIA and GERMANY are said to have dreamt of a general league of monarchs to root it out. But the difficulty soon forces itself upon them that, although the revolutionary spirit is not confined to any one country, all that gives it importance

in any particular country is of a local kind. Why should the Emperor of AUSTRIA harass his subjects because Russians are sent to Siberia, or the highest Russian officials swindle the Exchequer? Why should the King of ITALY fill his prisons because some Germans hate the rigid, exhausting, costly military system to which they are condemned from their birth? Each nation is, therefore, left to deal with its own troubles in its own way; and while Prince BISMARCK's way is now leading him to the extreme of fussiness, the Czar's way is leading him into an extremity of severity almost unparalleled in modern Europe.

The reign of terror in Russia increases daily in intensity. Preparations are being made for a wholesale deportation of persons condemned without trial to the remote Pacific seaboard of Siberia; arrests are made in open day; those on whom the duty of espionage has been cast are sent by hundreds to prison for not having discharged their new duty; and the deputy commander of the garrison of St. Petersburg and the commander of the garrison of Moscow have been superseded for not having shown sufficient enthusiasm for the present order of things. Meanwhile, further attempts at assassination have been made, and Orenburg has been set on fire. The revolutionists have not yet shown any signs of succumbing; but Russia went through a crisis of the same sort sixteen years ago, although the crisis then was of a milder type; and the Russian Government, through successful severity, got itself into comparatively smooth water, and the country seemed once more tolerably happy and prosperous. When Governments succeed by severity they succeed in very much the same way. After the OESINI attempt the French Government sent thousands of persons, who were avowedly chosen merely at random, to Lambessa and Cayenne. The Czar is doing no more than LOUIS NAPOLEON did. The Russian police and Russian officials can scarcely be more inquisitorial or tyrannical than the French police and French officials showed themselves in the terrible months that followed the attack on the Saviour of Society. Sufficient enthusiasm was not manifested in France on the part of some military men for the new order of things, and the measures proposed called forth a spirited protest from no less a person than Marshal MACMAHON. We did not interfere then to save Frenchmen, and it is ludicrous to think we shall interfere to save Russians now. Sir ROBERT PEEL seems troubled with the thought that, if we interfere with little nations like Naples, we ought to interfere with big nations like Russia. We could not interfere with big nations like France or Russia, and therefore to pretend to interfere would do no good, and would probably only increase the sufferings of those with whom we sympathized. But we act with regard to little Powers like Naples, not only as possessing the power so to act, but also as standing in a peculiar relation to them. A King like the King of NAPLES only existed because it was thought by England and the majority of the European Powers a good thing that he should exist as a satellite of Austria, whom we wished to use as a check on France. When we found that he did certain things we told him that his existence did not seem to us worth the price. It was quite fair and reasonable to say to him that the puppets whom we keep up must act decently or we shall let them collapse. It is not through us, or in deference to our political views, that the Governments of such countries as France and Russia exist, and we must leave them to reckon with those through whom they exist—that is, the millions over whom they rule.

#### BULGARIA.

THE election of Prince ALEXANDER of Battenberg as Prince of Bulgaria is not more objectionable than any other choice which was likely to be made by the Emperor of RUSSIA. Probably neither Prince DONDOKOFF KORESAKOFF nor General IGNATIEFF had at any time a serious chance. It was known that more than one Power would have objected to either of two eminent persons who, in serving their own sovereign, have never shirked from the duty of offending other Governments. Prince DONDOKOFF has often gone out of his way to express hostility to England; and during his administration of Bulgaria he has openly avowed the intention of preventing as far as possible the execution of the Treaty of Berlin. To a certain class of Russian officers the assertion of superiority to the restrictions which bind weaker States appears to be a point

of national vanity. Prince DONDOKOFF and some of his colleagues, in declaring that the treaty was a mere burlesque, never paused to consider that they were disputing the value of the EMPEROR's solemn pledges. The final decision of the Russian Government compelled the Governor of BULGARIA to abandon the agitation for the annexation of East Roumelia to the new Principality; but as a candidate for the princely office he would still have been profoundly obnoxious to England and Austria, and perhaps to other Powers. It is not known whether General IGNATIEFF still enjoys the favour of the EMPEROR. According to some reports, he has met with ingratitude after rendering great services to his country. No man did so much to cause the war which was, as the result proved, a main object of Russian policy. For many years he encouraged the misgovernment of the SULTAN, while at the same time he organized disaffection and conspiracy in the Turkish provinces. Since the beginning of the war he has not been actively employed; and there was no reason to suppose that the EMPEROR would on a sudden elevate him to a princely throne. It may be doubted whether great potentates in any case regard with favour the passage of the line which separates sovereigns from subjects. It is remarkable that, after all the revolutionary and dynastic changes of the last century, the King of SWEDEN is the only hereditary ruler in Europe who is not of ancient Royal blood. Prince COUZA was probably as capable as his successor of administering the affairs of Roumania; but Prince CHARLES of Hohenzollern has found his position more secure because he claimed a remote kindred with the German EMPEROR.

Prince ALEXANDER owes his promotion rather to his connexion with the Imperial family of Russia than to his own doubtful rank. The son of Prince ALEXANDER of Hesse by a morganatic marriage, he would have been excluded from the succession to a German principality; but his father is brother to the Empress of RUSSIA, and during the last campaign he served in the Russian army. Some surprise was caused in the English fleet, then in the Sea of Marmora, by a visit of Prince ALEXANDER to his brother, who is an officer in the English navy. Nothing is known of the ability or character of the lucky candidate for a post which, as compared with other sovereigns of the same rank, is perhaps not altogether desirable. In the first instance, he will almost necessarily act as a lieutenant of the Russian Government; but it is possible that in time he may be united to his subjects by mutual respect and regard. As long as he enjoys the confidence of his powerful patron, he may defy disaffection and rebellion. It is probably an advantage to the Bulgarians that for some time to come they will be practically debarred from exercising the sacred right of insurrection. If they know their own interests, they will think themselves happy in being permitted to acclimatize a scion of an ancient reigning family. A Republic with a President periodically chosen would have had a more precarious existence than a Principality. Time will show whether he is destined to become a constitutional ruler or a petty military despot. Prince DONDOKOFF was perhaps only guided by the natural instincts of a Russian when he proposed a Constitution by which the PRINCE would have elected a majority of the Assembly. Almost all the residue of political power was vested in the Bishops, probably in the expectation that they would take effectual means for the exclusion of heresy, schism, and as far as possible Mahometanism. The Constituent Assembly, though it consisted of similar elements, appears to have been less ignorant of constitutional tradition than a Russian general invested with absolute powers. There is to be a real representative body which will perhaps contest with the PRINCE the possession of supreme power. The main difficulty in electing a Bulgarian Parliament will be to find competent candidates in a country where there is no nobility, no gentry, and no educated commercial class. The PRINCE alone will stand above the level of uniform democracy. The innumerable copies of the English Constitution almost always unavoidably dispense with its essential conditions.

Having founded the new State, the Russians will probably retire from Bulgaria without unnecessary delay. Within the limits of the province they have had no opportunity of infringing the Berlin Treaty, which left both the provisional government and the permanent organization entirely to their discretion. The cruelty to the Turkish population which they permitted, encouraged, and shared,

will long remain a blot on the national reputation. Their final exploit, though not in itself blamable, was absurdly anomalous. It is strange that the sovereign who now thinks himself forced to govern his own subjects at the edge of the sword should have bestowed a representative Constitution on a neighbouring dependency. When the Russian army first entered Bulgaria the soldiers were surprised to find that the oppressed and plundered inhabitants enjoyed a degree of wealth and freedom which they had never before imagined.

The rumours which have lately been circulated on the subject of the neighbouring province have been corrected by Lord SALISBURY in a recent speech. Not for the first time he positively asserts that the treaty will be fully carried out; and, indeed, he courteously assumes that all the Powers are equally anxious to accomplish a task which only depends on their own consent. Lord SALISBURY had no difficulty in repelling the charge that in East Roumelia the mild Bulgarian was driven back by a perverse English Government under the brutal dominion of the Turk. Opinions as to the virtues and vices of Eastern sections of the population have been somewhat modified since the date of the Bulgarian atrocities; but, whatever may be the demerits of Turkish administration, it will not be re-established in the autonomous province. Turkish troops will occupy the frontier as a security against invasion, but the administration of the country itself will be in the hands of the inhabitants under a Christian Governor-General. The Mahometans in the province are likely to be the greatest sufferers, in consequence of the numerical preponderance of Christian Bulgarians. It may be hoped that ALEKO PASHA will justify by his vigour and impartiality the reputation which induced the English Government to acquiesce in the appointment of a Bulgarian Governor. The report of imprudent phrases used in a conversation with a newspaper reporter may possibly be incorrect, or the Governor may not be accustomed to professional cross-examination. It may be easily believed that ALEKO PASHA will not without sufficient cause introduce Turkish troops into the interior; but he must have satisfied those who concurred in his appointment that he would in any event discharge his duties. It is not surprising that the heads of the emancipated population were turned, both by the reversal of their relations with the previously ruling race, and by the concentration on their obscure region of the attention of European statesmen. Having attained without exertion larger advantages than they could have expected, they thought that no opposition would be offered to any wishes which they might form. It was excusable that they should accept Prince DONDOKOFF's assurances that the signature of Russia to the Berlin Treaty had been a fraud, and that the EMPEROR would on their behalf shrink from no act of treachery to the other European Powers. The dupes are partially undeceived; and, when they find that the treaty, with or without their co-operation, is to be executed in the minutest point, they will yield to stern resolution supported by irresistible force.

#### EGYPT.

THE Parliamentary papers just published on Egypt only bring down the story to the end of last year. We are thus left without any definite information as to the views with which the Government has shaped its policy during the period which has proved to be the really critical one. So far as those papers extend, they show that the interference of England in the affairs of Egypt was for a long time of the most cautious and guarded kind, and it would be difficult to point to any despatch in which Lord DERBY in any way committed himself, or appeared as the agent of a controlling Power. He would never have anything to do with naming an official to work in Egypt, and could not be got to go further than to wish well to Egypt. He was desirous to see its finances in a more satisfactory condition, must insist that the treaties creating the International Tribunals should be observed, and would feel obliged if the KHEDIVE would pay the English Government the money due to it for the Turkish tribute. After Lord SALISBURY replaced Lord DERBY, the intervention of England assumed a slightly more distinct shape. England joined France in urging the KHEDIVE to pay the coupon of the Unified Debt which fell due last May. The KHEDIVE hesitated, alleging that

it was really a question between the bondholders and the holders of the floating debt, and that it was unfair to give everything to one set of creditors and nothing to the other. England and France, however, insisted that the coupon should be paid, and the KHEDIVE informed Mr. VIVIAN that, "as the English and French Governments required that the coupon should be paid, he would do all in his power to meet it at whatever cost to the country; but that the responsibility of the consequences would not rest with him, and that what had to be paid could not possibly be paid without ruinous sacrifices." Lord SALISBURY may have been quite right to intervene; but to order a foreign prince to prefer one set of creditors to another at the cost of ruinous sacrifices to the country is certainly an act of intervention. Then, again, Lord DERBY had, at the request of the KHEDIVE, allowed Mr. RIVERS WILSON to serve on the Commission of Inquiry; but he had announced that England would pay Mr. WILSON's expenses. This inquiry arose out of the demand of the interested Powers that the judgments of the tribunals established by treaty should be allowed to take effect. The KHEDIVE had replied that he had no resources with which to give effect to these judgments, and the Powers required that due proof of this should be given them. Mr. WILSON therefore, when sent by Lord DERBY, went as a wholly English servant to make inquiries as to the causes which had prevented effect being given to the treaty rights of England. When the NUBAR Ministry was formed, Mr. WILSON's position was changed. He became the servant of a foreign Power, although he remained in the service of the QUEEN; and this carried Lord SALISBURY a little further in the direction of intervention. These papers, however, entirely dispel the notion that the KHEDIVE was under any obligation to retain Mr. WILSON in his service. It was as distinctly laid down as possible that the KHEDIVE might dismiss him whenever he pleased. But the KHEDIVE was made to record, in a formal manner, his undertaking that, if he dismissed Mr. WILSON, and did not appoint another Englishman in his place, an English Controller-General should be immediately appointed. This official was a creation of MM. GOSCHEN and JOUBERT, for the benefit of the bondholders; and not only did Lord SALISBURY now insist that the bondholders should have this protection restored to them, but he pointed out that, under the scheme as settled between MM. GOSCHEN and JOUBERT and the KHEDIVE, the nomination of this official was offered to the English Government. Lord DERBY declined to have anything to do with the nomination; but Lord SALISBURY pointed out that Lord DERBY had done nothing more than decline to exercise a power given him, that the power subsisted, and that Lord DERBY's successor might and would exercise it. Lastly, when the ROTHSCHILD loan was proposed, Lord SALISBURY not only consented that England should nominate one of the administrators of the ceded estates, but insisted on its being formally recorded that the administrator should not be dismissed without the consent of England. This loan was got through in a great hurry, and without the proper formalities being observed, in order that funds might be provided to meet the November coupon. It seems, therefore, fair to say that during last year Lord SALISBURY so far departed from the policy of Lord DERBY that on several occasions he distinctly intervened in the affairs of Egypt, and always in the immediate interests of the bondholders.

When this is admitted, it must, on the other hand, be said that Lord SALISBURY's intervention was of a very mild kind, except perhaps in the instance of the May coupon, and that to say that he intervened is a very different thing from saying that he was wrong in intervening. The next series of papers will probably show that, after the beginning of the year, the intervention became of a much more pronounced kind; but to the end of last year it cannot be said that England had gone very far. How it has happened that England has been gradually drawn into intervention is a mystery which will probably not be cleared up at present. The real motives may be of too delicate a nature to be confided to the public. M. GAMBITTA's organ has, however, attempted to satisfy the curiosity of those who are interested in the matter, and has informed us that this intervention was, to speak plainly, the price at which we purchased the support of France at the Congress of Berlin. This may be so or it may not; and, were it not that M. GAMBITTA has special means of information, we might put aside the assertion as one of the strokes by which excitement about current politics is kept burning. In the

Parliamentary papers now published we find Germany and Austria persistent and resolute in their demands that the KHEDIVE should be kept up to his treaty obligations, and Italy following more mildly in the same strain. But all these Powers agree in recognizing that it is for England and France to lead in the matter, because their interests in Egypt are so much greater than those of other Powers. It appears from a summary given in the papers that, out of the bonded debt of Egypt, about 42 millions are held in England, 30 in France, and 6 in Egypt; so that the pecuniary interests of England and France in Egypt vastly exceed those of other nations, and England is a somewhat larger creditor than France. The other Powers could not therefore avoid considering England and France as primarily interested in Egypt; but Prince BISMARCK distinctly intimated to Lord DERBY that he should like joint action in Egypt by all the Powers in order to avoid the possibility of separate action on the part of some of them, and Austria inquired whether joint action would be agreeable to England. Italy recorded a protest against the payment of the May coupon to the detriment of the holders of the floating debt, but left it to England to see that its influence was exerted on the side of equity. It would seem that, up to the meeting of the Congress of Berlin, what was wished for was joint action led by England and France. But when the Congress met, France stipulated that nothing should be said about Egypt. From that time we hear no more of joint action. France did not ask for much at Berlin, but she asked for something. She asked to have Egypt left to her and to England, and she also, if M. GAMBETTA's organ is right, arranged with England that England should act with her in a more vigorous way, and with a more decided leaning to the interests which France specially upheld.

If any one wants to be confirmed in his opinion that the KHEDIVE cannot possibly fulfil his latest and grandest promises to his creditors, he may find abundant confirmation in almost every page of the papers. Mr. VIVIAN, much to his credit, is even more earnest in insisting that something should be done to lighten the burdens of the peasants than in demanding that such money as can be properly collected should be honestly and equally divided among the numerous claimants. In one despatch he relates how the KHEDIVE, too, asserted that the figures on which MM. GOSCHEN and JOUBERT had framed the estimates were fallacious, and that the resources of the country had been overestimated; but he was kind enough to say that he did not blame them, as the fallacious figures had been furnished to them by his own Minister. For the KHEDIVE himself Mr. VIVIAN seems to have some tenderness; but he is unmeasured in his denunciation of the system of government pursued by the KHEDIVE. It was in his eyes as bad as bad could be. The Egyptian Government had certainly got into bad habits, one of them being "the constant practice of 'sequestering trust money and any other private funds, " however sacred in their nature, which might happen to 'pass through their hands.'" This is the Government which has now been restored and is in full swing. The KHEDIVE will, if he is allowed to go on in his own way, screw blood out of as many stones as possible, do some audacious and some cruel things, and then announce that he is bankrupt and cannot pay any one. It is difficult to see how England and France can prevent him if he chooses to take his own course. But, although England and France may not interfere with him now, if he sets them at defiance, the perusal of these papers makes it clear that a day of reckoning must come. They show that when the time arrives for the renewal of the treaties by which the International Tribunals are re-established, neither Germany nor Austria will consent to a renewal unless it is shown that the judgments of the tribunals have been executed. Prince BISMARCK may have been willing that France and England should act alone so long as his time was not clearly come; but it must inevitably come when he has to decide whether Germany shall renew the treaty which binds it. Germany would certainly consider it beneath her dignity to renew a treaty the execution of which has hitherto been a farce. To return to the old system of Consular jurisdiction would be impossible, as the Consuls could not hold any amicable intercourse with a prince who was defying the Powers they represented; and the interests that have grown up under the shadow of the International Tribunals are too numerous and too important to be overlooked by Europe. Prince

BISMARCK might not himself take the trouble to interfere; but he might ask France to do his work for him, and it would be difficult for France to refuse after the attitude she assumed at Berlin with regard to Egypt. Lord SALISBURY must be supposed to have foreseen all this; and such intervention as he has been a party to must therefore be judged, not only by the circumstances of the present hour, but by the possible complications to which he had to look forward.

#### THE DEBATE ON MR. RYLANDS'S MOTION.

THE admirable loyalty of the Conservative party to the Government was less severely tested by Mr. RYLANDS's Resolution than by the division on the Zulu war. The object of both motions was to test the strength of parties, although Mr. GOSCHEN made the questionable statement that Mr. RYLANDS was solely responsible for a contest in which the Liberal leaders and their followers put forth all their strength. For the purpose of uniting as many votes as possible the original Resolution was cut down—probably, as the CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER suggested, by the ingenuity of Mr. ADAM—into a proposition which was little more than truism. All parties regret the increase of the expenditure; and the Ministers, having a personal interest in saving as well as a regard for the public welfare, regret it most of all; but it is true that regret for the results of the policy of opponents partakes of the character of disapproval. If the motion had been carried, the Ministers must have resigned or dissolved as on a vote of censure. The other Resolutions were drawn up by the mover for his own satisfaction, with full knowledge that, if they had been put to the vote, they would have been rejected by an overwhelming majority. Mr. GOSCHEN perhaps wished to give Mr. RYLANDS a hint that his speech had not increased his claim to put himself forward as a representative of the Opposition. It would have been hardly worth while to answer the opening speech if it had not been followed by more weighty arguments from speakers of higher political rank. Mr. BAXTER, who has both financial knowledge and official experience, weakened his attack on the Government by a digression into general theories which can have no immediate application. There is something to be said for the entire abolition of indirect taxes; but no Government is likely during the next two centuries to sacrifice two-thirds of the public revenue with the purpose of supplying the deficiency by direct taxation to the amount of forty or fifty millions. Whatever may be the shortcomings of the present Government, Sir STAFFORD NORTHCOTE is not to be blamed for maintaining the malt-tax and the duties on wines, spirits, and tobacco.

The debate was, on the whole, interesting and instructive. It could hardly have been expected that it would turn principally on finance, although the discussion formally arose on an amendment to the Budget. The Opposition regretted and blamed the increase of the expenditure, mainly because it represented a foreign policy of which they disapproved; but the Eastern question, the Afghan war, and the Zulu war have supplied matter for former debates; and it was not forgotten that on such questions the Ministers have always commanded more than normal majorities. The House of Commons has, therefore, become both technically and morally responsible for costly measures which, if they were not justifiable, are more culpable than any contrivance for providing the necessary funds. Sir H. SELWYN IBBETSON made good use of a plausible argument, on which nevertheless it would not be prudent to lay greater stress. If the House had changed its mind since last year, it would not have allowed the Government to rely on the authority of past majorities. Sir W. HARROD, who took no part in the debate, had in his speech at Sheffield given the party its cue, by contrasting a spirited foreign policy with what he called the financial poltroonery of the Budget. As far as expenditure was concerned, Mr. GOSCHEN, with sarcastic candour, abandoned Mr. RYLANDS's contention. If, he said, he had, as a member of a Government, engaged in an Afghan war, a Zulu war, an annexation of Cyprus, and a protectorate of Asia Minor, he would not have proposed the reduction of a ship or a man. Indeed another speaker on the same side blamed Mr. W. H. SMITH, not without a show of reason, for reducing the number of Marines by 1,000 men. Mr. GOSCHEN's epigrams would

have been more convincing if all the causes of expense which he enumerated had not already been approved by Parliament. The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER had some reason for saying at a public dinner which occurred in the middle of the debate that he was really censured for not having imposed fresh taxes. The Budget was founded on an outlay which in turn resulted from general policy; and the only practical question was how the money should be found.

The FIRST LORD of the ADMIRALTY, who is, after the CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER, the most skilful financier in the Government, made almost too plausible a defence or explanation of the increase in the Estimates. After various deductions, he admitted an excess since the accession of the present Ministers to office of six and a half millions. Of this two millions has been incurred in relief of the rates, so that it constitutes no addition to the public burdens; and other members supported his contention by showing that there has been a corresponding diminution in the rates. A vast increase of the cost of education is a legacy from the former Government, and is also approved by the House of Commons. The abolition of purchase and the increase in the pay of privates in the army account, according to Mr. SMITH, for another part of the balance; but Mr. GOSCHEN and Mr. GLADSTONE reminded the House that Mr. SMITH had made no allowance for the reduced prices of provisions and other naval and military stores. According to his calculation, the real excess over the expenditure of 1874 is not more than half a million, in addition to the special grants which have been made for political objects. If his conclusions can be sustained, there is no doubt that the growth of population and the increase of administrative activity render necessary a constant and gradual addition to the public expenditure. Mr. PELL furnished an amusing illustration of the liberal or lavish outlay in education by reminding the House that 120,000*l.* had been spent during the year in teaching children in elementary schools to sing. Other luxuries and necessaries have come into existence since 1819, which was the year absurdly selected by Mr. RYLANDS for comparison with 1879. When there were no steamboats, no railways, no public system of education, and about half the present population, the public expenditure was naturally less. Mr. COBDEN twenty years ago generally referred to the year 1835 for a standard of comparison, though, like Mr. RYLANDS, he was deluded by the fallacy that the national outlay ought to be regulated by the revenue. Even Mr. GLADSTONE assumed in his eulogy on Sir ROBERT PEEL that additional expenditure in one department ought to find compensation in savings to be arbitrarily effected elsewhere. The public revenue is that part of the collective income of the community which is required by Parliament for national objects. The amount ought to be regulated with exclusive reference to the purposes to which it is to be applied. In practice it is perhaps desirable to cultivate a thrifty repugnance to any increase of expenditure, but a wholesome prejudice must give way to practical necessity.

Mr. GLADSTONE's speech, which had been expected with some curiosity, seems not to have been one of his happiest efforts. He abstained for the most part from unseasonable discussion of the foreign policy of the Government; but he sometimes gave way to irritation which could scarcely be justified by a difference of opinion on details of finance. Some of the Ministerial speakers who preceded him had, probably without deliberate intention, raised issues to which Mr. GLADSTONE was certain to attach exaggerated importance. When it was suggested that he had himself furnished precedents for a postponement of obligations, it was easy to see that he would distinguish with passionate subtlety between cases which could not be exactly identical. Mr. LOWE in one of his Budgets took power to issue Exchequer Bonds for a part of the Alabama damages; but the revenue was at the time flourishing and elastic, and the event proved that he was justified in the hope of covering the whole payment out of the revenue of the year. Sir STAFFORD NORTHCOTE has no such good fortune in prospect; and, indeed, his plan of spreading the deficiency over two or three years is justified or excused chiefly by the commercial and financial depression which in his judgment rendered new taxes inexpedient. On every instance of postponement which had been cited Mr. GLADSTONE dilated with copious earnestness; and he proved that he had never deviated without sufficient reason from the rule of meeting expenditure out of revenue. The precedents had only shown that occasional excep-

tions were necessary; and Mr. GLADSTONE contended that the CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER had not in the present year a sufficient excuse. In common with other opponents of the Government, he somewhat exaggerated the impression which he supposed to be produced on foreign States by irregularity in English finance. On other occasions Mr. GLADSTONE is wont to express contempt for the so-called prestige which is another name for foreign opinion. It may be doubted whether any statesman on the Continent has troubled himself to know or care whether the English Budget discloses a surplus, or what provision has been made for deficiency. In modern diplomacy and war it is more material to know whether rival Powers are disposed to resort in certain contingencies to force than to calculate how they propose to meet their expenses. The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER's speech gave his followers sufficiently plausible reasons for voting, as they would in any case have voted, for their party and the Government.

#### THE FRENCH EDUCATION BILL.

M. FERRY has lately been making a very careful defence of his Education Bill; and as he denies that there is, or ever has been, the slightest difference of opinion in the Cabinet as to the necessity of going on with it, it may perhaps be assumed that the Ministers who disapprove of it, if any such there be, have consented for the future to keep their disapproval to themselves. In England, at all events, the value of contradictions such as M. FERRY's has been pretty well gauged. A statement by the PRIME MINISTER to-day that the Cabinet are perfectly agreed does not necessarily preclude a statement by a colleague to-morrow that for weeks past his resignation has been a question of time. In France, however, Ministerial responsibility is still young, and there has hardly been time for it to attain to these refinements of casuistry. That the French Cabinet can be really unanimous in supporting M. FERRY's Bill is highly improbable; but, on the other hand, it is very likely indeed that they have agreed to make believe that they are unanimous. Indeed, the Bill is one which it is almost impossible for a Cabinet to abandon if they have once been ill-advised enough to bring it forward. The Republic has to reckon with an astute adversary whom the mere mention of this measure has made extraordinarily sensitive and watchful. If the Education Bill were now to be withdrawn or greatly modified, this adversary would claim and score a victory. Things would not return to the point at which they stood when M. FERRY's Bill was not yet introduced; they would, as regards the Republic, have changed very much for the worse. The Cabinet would have wantonly challenged the Church, and have shown that it wanted the courage to make good its words.

The position in which M. WADDINGTON has allowed M. FERRY to place him is as unfortunate for the Republic as it is for the Cabinet. When the DUFRAUER Ministry was reconstructed under its present head, it was plain that it would be subjected to very great pressure in the direction of Radical legislation. It then seemed that the obligation of a Ministry such as M. WADDINGTON's to resist this pressure would be recognized as a matter of course. What is the advantage of a Conservative Cabinet if it allows itself to be persuaded into the acceptance of revolutionary measures? Whether the majority in the Chamber of Deputies would support the Government in its resistance was quite a secondary question. A Minister who will not throw away a trick in order to win the game is not fit for his place. The majority in the present Chamber represents nothing but the general determination of the country to live under a Republic. That has been the only issue submitted to the electors, and consequently it is the only issue upon which they can be held to have given their final deliverance. Of the many questions which relate, not to the form which the Government shall take, but to the spirit in which it shall be administered, none have yet been submitted to them. It was the business, therefore, of a Conservative Government to set up a standard of Conservative administration, round which Conservative Republicans might gather, if not at once, in the not distant future. M. WADDINGTON, at all events, had nothing to lose by taking this course. If revolutionary Ministers are wanted, he is not the stuff of which they are made. He may be tolerated for a time by the extreme section of the majority, because there are things which can be more effectually done by a Minister calling himself a Conserva-

tive than by a Minister who avowedly belongs to the advanced Left. But he will be thus tolerated because and just so long as he behaves himself as though he too belonged to the advanced Left. The moment he attempts to use what, by a flattering fiction, is called his power for the attainment of any Conservative object, he will be thrown aside. But his position after he has been thus discarded will be very different from that which he would have occupied if he had from the first refused to be made an instrument of the extreme Republicans. He will have sacrificed support in order to conciliate the Radicals, and he will find when the Radicals have done with him that the confidence of the Conservatives is gone past recall. If M. WADDINGTON had started with a programme at once Liberal as regards administration and Conservative as regards institutions, and had stoutly refused to have any colleagues forced upon him who were not willing to limit themselves to this programme, his stay in office might possibly have been short. But, as soon as he retired from office, he would have found himself at the head of an Opposition at once genuinely Conservative and genuinely Republican—an Opposition which would probably have commanded a majority in the Senate, and have been respectable by composition, if not by numbers, in the Chamber of Deputies. If, on the other hand, M. WADDINGTON were to retire now, there would be no Opposition for him to lead. His assent to M. FERRY's Bill has entirely alienated the Catholic party, and no strong Conservative Opposition can possibly be formed in France if it is to count Catholics as such among its enemies. It is not only M. WADDINGTON himself who will suffer by this alienation. He may care little for office, and be rather glad than sorry to see it finally denied him. But the country will suffer as well. A Conservative Opposition there will, and must be, in France. The only point which is open to question relates to the materials of which this Opposition shall be built up. If the Left Centre had not allowed themselves to be beguiled into supporting M. FERRY, they would have formed its natural nucleus; as it is, it seems almost inevitable that it should once more array itself under some reactionary leader. The Republicans have made the disastrous mistake of justifying in the first moment of their success the worst predictions of their adversaries.

M. FERRY, of course, denied in his speech at Epinal that his Bill can fairly be called anti-Catholic. He was able to show that the prohibitions which he now proposes to re-enact date from the Restoration and the Monarchy of 1830; and from this he wishes it to be inferred that there can be no harm in reproducing similar prohibitions under the Republic. Unfortunately for M. FERRY's reasoning, there is all the difference in the world between the imposition of such restrictions by a Government which has the character of being friendly to the Church and a similar imposition by a Government which is strongly, even if unjustly, suspected of being hostile to the Church. Nor must it be forgotten that the Church carried on for many years a sustained, and in the end successful, resistance to the legislation which M. FERRY seeks to re-establish. The unrecognized religious congregations have not merely taken advantage of a neglect on the part of recent Ministries to enforce the law forbidding them to teach in any school; they fought the law openly under CHARLES X. and LOUIS PHILIPPE, and under the Republic of 1848 they obtained its repeal. M. FERRY speaks of M. THIERS's support of the enfranchising law of 1850 as a mere passing exception to the usual course of that great statesman's ideas. The truer explanation probably is that even in 1850 M. THIERS had realized the importance of that Conservative alliance which he made the corner-stone of his policy from 1871 to 1873, and that he saw the impossibility of forming such an alliance without the aid of the Church. It would have been well if the Cabinet which professes to have inherited M. THIERS's policy in other respects had shown in 1879 the prudence which M. THIERS had learnt to practise nearly thirty years earlier. With the Chamber of Deputies constituted as it is, there seems no doubt that the Bill will pass; and it is yet to be seen whether the Senate will think it prudent to join issue with the other Chamber on so burning a question. The mischievous results of the controversy will only be in their infancy when the Bill has become law.

#### THE NEGRO MIGRATION.

THE migration of a large number of negroes from Louisiana and Mississippi to Kansas may perhaps have important consequences. It is difficult in all countries, and especially in the United States, to ascertain the facts of any matter which has a political bearing. The Republicans are disposed to welcome the movement both as a confirmation of the charges which they have made against the Southern planters, and because it tends to diminish the electoral strength of the Democratic party. The migration has, according to the cant phrase, "got into 'politics'; and consequently every statement of its magnitude or its causes must be regarded with suspicion. It seems certain that about three thousand coloured persons, for the most part in extreme poverty, have arrived by steamboat at St. Louis on their way to Kansas. About two thousand have proceeded to their destination, while the residue are dependent on charity at St. Louis and other towns on the river. Their selection of their future dwelling-place has perhaps been suggested by the connexion of Kansas with the Free Soil contests in the period which preceded the Civil War. The border warfare between the Northern settlers and their neighbours in Missouri may probably be remembered as the beginning of a crusade against slavery. As in all similar cases, the hopes of the emigrants have assumed the form of attractive fictions. The negroes of the South are said to believe that the Government of the United States has promised to provide twenty or forty acres of land with mules and agricultural implements for every head of a family. The discouragement which they receive on their arrival at St. Louis fails to dissipate their confidence; and, in any case, they positively refuse to return to their former homes. There is abundant room in Kansas for an additional population, but the soil and climate are not suited to the production of cotton or other sub-tropical crops; and the present inhabitants would greatly prefer white settlers, who might probably bring with them a certain amount of capital, to a mass of coloured paupers. Nevertheless there is no reason to doubt that the new comers will find means of subsistence. They will also obtain from the Republican party in the States, in return for their votes, protection for the political privileges which they enjoyed less freely in their former homes. The social equality which they would perhaps value more highly is not within their reach in any part of the United States.

The movement, as far as it has hitherto proceeded, is not a surprising result of the derangement of social and economic relations which was necessarily produced by the abolition of slavery. Mr. JEFFERSON DAVIS lately declared that the owners were so far satisfied with the change that they would not, if they could, revert to the former system. Many of them are impoverished, but they are relieved from constant anxiety, and the production of cotton is now larger than before the war. For several years the white inhabitants of the South were subject to the irritating dominion of an inferior race which was itself guided and governed by adventurers from the North. The Amendment of the Federal Constitution which prohibited restrictions of the franchise founded on race or colour established universal suffrage in its most objectionable form. In Louisiana United States troops frequently interfered in elections at the instance of the Republican party; and probably the negroes, relying on their precarious political superiority, advanced pretensions which were offensive to their former masters. The victorious party in the Civil War was, on the whole, not ungenerous; but its leaders ought to have foreseen that a great mass of American citizens would never allow themselves to be ruled by a coloured majority, except under pressure of military force. Accordingly one State after another emancipated itself from Republican supremacy until the whole of the South was, as in the years before the war, allied with the Northern Democrats. In some cases the negroes were amenable to influence; and if they failed to give way, they were sometimes exposed to menace and violence. The pretence of equality between races essentially unequal could not be permanently maintained. There were other means of direct or indirect coercion. The property in land had not been even partially transferred, as in Russia, to the emancipated slaves; and the owners, as the only possible employers, commanded the market for labour. One of the complaints of the emigrants to Kansas is that the wages were too low, or that the rent

of cotton grounds, which is customarily paid in kind, was exorbitant in amount.

The reports of cruelty and intimidation on the part of the Southern whites are probably not unfounded, and they are almost certainly overstated. As long as the Legislative and Executive authorities were appointed by negro majorities, the so-called Kuklux bands were guilty of many acts of violence. There is less excuse for any similar outrages which are still perpetrated; but bad practices have a tendency to survive the circumstances in which they may have been partially excused. It is not intrinsically unlikely that negroes who have made themselves obnoxious to their white neighbours may have been assaulted and even murdered; and it is still more probable that Northern orators and journalists have exaggerated the number and atrocity of the outrages. The departure of a certain number of coloured people from Louisiana and Mississippi may perhaps produce a wholesome effect as a warning. In a country which is not well suited to white labour a large diminution in the number of the working population would cause great loss and inconvenience to owners of land and cultivators; and it is well worth their while to exert themselves for the removal of just causes of discontent. The Governor of Mississippi, in answer to an application for coercive measures to check emigration, has with much good sense informed the land-owners that the remedy for the evil can only be applied by themselves. The more enterprising part of the negro population may probably have rendered good service to those who stay at home by reminding the owners and cotton-growers that their prosperity depends on an ample supply of labour. The negroes, even where they form a majority, will never again be allowed to regulate the distribution of political power; but they are probably in a condition to insist on the enjoyment of personal liberty and on due payment for their services.

If the emigration to Kansas were the only process of depletion to be apprehended, the comparative number of votes in the Northern and Southern States would not be seriously affected; and it is incredible that in any case the Republicans should gain fifteen votes by the reduction of the Southern population. The increased demand for labour which results from emigration has often tended to neutralize its immediate effect. In the days of slavery the population of the Gulf States increased with great rapidity, and there is no reason to suppose that the operation has been checked or reversed. It is for the interest of all parties that there should be an ample supply of coloured labour in the Southern States; and it may be also desirable that the whites should be aware that their prosperity depends on their good treatment of the working population. If emigration on a large scale proceeds, it will not be directed to the temperate regions of the Central or Western States. There has of late been a certain amount of emigration from South Carolina to Liberia; and New England philanthropists have promoted a movement of population from the older Southern States to Texas. The coloured people are not by nature of a migratory or adventurous disposition. When they are fairly well treated they prefer their homes and their customary occupations to novel experiments. It is perhaps their interest to remain subject to the influence of a more civilized community if they are assured of security from oppression. The American negroes, though their capacity and attainments have sometimes been absurdly overpraised, are now far in advance of their African ancestors. Till within fifteen or sixteen years they owed their elevation to servitude; and, in becoming free labourers, not yet fully admitted to political power, they are probably in the condition which will best promote their further advancement. They are not likely for some time to be available for party purposes. Their main political function is at present to swell the normal number of the Southern population, and consequently to increase the electoral power of their white neighbours, who are almost without exception Democrats. In former times a large deduction was made for the purposes of elections from the number of slaves. Emancipation and universal suffrage have in this respect strengthened the Southern States. A year hence, the periodical comparison of numbers between parties will begin; and if parties are not internally divided, the Democrats will probably, after a long interval, elect a President. They already control both branches of Congress, and consequently the negroes have no chance of special legislation in their favour.

#### THE RECIPROCITY CRAZE.

THE debate in the Lords on Lord BATEMAN'S motion was important because it gave the PRIME MINISTER an opportunity of laying to rest the suspicion that the Government were not above a discreet flirtation with the principle of reciprocity. He would be a very hopeful man who could still think this possible after Lord BEACONSFIELD's speech. It was the more conclusive because there was no exaggeration about its disclaimer of any such intention. Lord BEACONSFIELD did not pretend to be a zealous Free-trader, or even to have greatly modified the views which he held thirty years ago. But he pointed out that a revolution of far more real importance than any change, however radical, in a Minister's mind had taken place in the interval. In 1849, though the Corn-laws had been abolished, there were one hundred and sixty-eight articles in the Customs tariff. In 1879 there are twenty-two. Reciprocity means the free admission of certain produce by the two countries between whom reciprocity is said to exist. But, with only twenty-two taxed articles remaining, and some of those being necessarily taxed for purposes of revenue, the field of selection is reduced to nothing. If England desired to adopt reciprocity, she would first have to reintroduce protection. A duty must be imposed against the world in general before it can be remitted in favour of any nation in particular. But this is not the only change that has taken place since 1849. Supposing that some one or more articles could be discovered by remitting the duty on which we might bribe some other Power into doing us a similar service, it is still impossible to take this course. There are thirty-eight commercial treaties in existence, into every one of which the most-favoured-nation clause has been introduced. The bribe that we wish to offer to one nation only must be equally offered to the remaining thirty-seven. In the matter of reciprocity we have ceased to be free agents; for reciprocity means admitting goods on exceptionally favourable terms from nations which offer equally favourable terms in return; whereas we have bound ourselves to admit the goods of thirty-eight different States on the same terms. If commercial treaties have not done much to promote freedom of trade, they have at all events protected it against any protectionist reaction.

Lord BEACONSFIELD is of opinion that the repeal of the Corn-laws has materially affected the fortunes of the landed interest. As he was opposing a motion in favour of reciprocity, it was possible for him to make this statement; but Lord BATEMAN, who was the author of the motion, had to begin with a disclaimer of any wish to reimpose a duty on corn. Without this he felt that he would have no chance of being listened to in the country, whatever he might have in the House of Lords. Whether Lord BEACONSFIELD is right or wrong in his estimate of the effect of Sir ROBERT PEEL's legislation must always remain a matter of speculation. However successful the English farmer may be in the future, it will always be possible to contend that, if he had been able to go on growing wheat, he would have been more prosperous still. Lord GRANVILLE is apparently of opinion that even this is not finally denied to him, since the present condition of the wheat market may prove to be the result of an accidental concurrence between a bad harvest in this country and a good one in the United States. If Lord GRANVILLE is right, the agricultural distress will not be long in passing away. Good and bad harvests return in fairly regular cycles in both countries. The landed interest will be wise, however, if they refrain from laying Lord GRANVILLE's consolation to heart until the effect of a reversal of the conditions has been ascertained. It may turn out that even in a bad year the American farmer is able to sell wheat in England at a price which leaves his English rival no appreciable profit. Even then, however, Lord BEACONSFIELD's contention that the abolition of the Corn-laws has permanently injured the landed interest will not become a practical question. It is as certain as anything can be that, if Sir ROBERT PEEL had not abandoned protection, it would have been abandoned by some succeeding Minister. The repeal of the Corn-laws might have taken the place of the introduction of household suffrage as the crowning result of Mr. DISRAELI's education of the Conservative party. It is possible, as the example of the United States shows, to keep out everything but food; but, when a country cannot feed itself cheaply, and knows that but for

the home producer it might do so, protection is doomed. If corn had not come in free of duty in 1846, it would have come in free of duty in some subsequent year. The only difference would have been that when it had come in it would have come in larger quantities, and consequently with more injury to the English farmer. As it is, he and his landlord have at least had time to look forward to the present state of things and to shape their course accordingly.

This same consideration bears directly upon the proposal to impose reciprocal duties. It must be supposed that an injury which it is worth while to remedy by this plan is one of serious moment. If our manufactures were not seriously threatened, no Government would dream of resorting to reciprocity. It follows from this that the duty imposed in order to coerce the foreigner into taking off some duty on English goods must be imposed on some article of general consumption, and nothing except corn answers sufficiently to this description. If the Corn-laws could be re-enacted, we might really approach the United States Government with some chance of being listened to. The American farmers would be so anxious not to have the English market closed against them that they might compel the American manufacturers to surrender the protective duties which they at present enjoy. As matters stand, however, there is no room left for reciprocity. That the reimposition of a duty on corn is out of the question must be evident to every advocate of reciprocity. Even the Duke of RUTLAND, though he goes a long way, does not seem to go as far as this. The relief he desires to see extended to the agricultural interest is of an indirect kind. He would impose a moderate duty on textile manufactures, and spend the money thus raised in relieving the burdens of the farmers. By this arrangement the interests of the consumer would be less directly, but not less completely, sacrificed to those of the farmer. He would not have to pay more for his loaf, but he would have less money to spend in paying for it. The Duke of RUTLAND is sanguine that the English consumer will not object to this addition to his burdens; on the contrary, he expects to see agricultural labourers, artisans, and manufacturers combining to send to the next Parliament a majority determined that the interests of this great country shall be saved from destruction. In other words, he believes that every one who eats bread will be willing to submit to a sacrifice in order that the bread eaten shall be of English rather than of foreign growth. That is a point upon which we shall not presume to offer an opinion. There is something so beautiful in the conception of an entire community taxing themselves for the benefit of a single class that its realization must be a moral gain, though it might be an economical loss. If, however, Englishmen are really capable of this heroic self-sacrifice, it seems needless to obscure it by mixing it up with controversies about commercial treaties and the effect of particular duties. Let the five millions which the Duke of RUTLAND proposes to raise by a moderate tax on textile manufactures be paid annually out of the Consolidated Fund. In this way the burdens from which he wishes to see the farmer released may be removed with equal certainty, and the country will have the additional advantage of knowing precisely what it is doing. If the Duke of RUTLAND objects that an application to Parliament for a grant in aid of the landed interest might meet with opposition, it is safe to assure him that his own proposal will meet with just as much. It is the fact of having to pay, not the mode in which the payment has to be made, that will come home to the public; and for this, on the Duke's hypothesis, the public are already prepared.

#### IRISH SATURDAY CLOSING.

THE Government showed on Wednesday an amount of prudence which they would have done well to show in former Sessions. They left the Irish members to talk over an Irish Intoxicating Liquors Bill among themselves. One beneficial result of this process was that talking over passed into talking out. As there is no reason to suppose that there will ever be wanting a due supply of persons qualified to render a similar service to the Bill, it may be a long time, if the Government will only abstain from interference, before the second reading is accomplished. The danger of course is that it may suddenly occur to the

Cabinet that the measure is really popular in Ireland, and consequently that there is something to be gained by supporting it. If they make this blunder they will repeat the bitter experience of the Sunday Closing Bill. It is impossible to gauge with any accuracy the popularity of a Bill of this kind. The forces arrayed on each side are not equally demonstrative. The agitators on behalf of the Bill know that they must put out all their strength if they want to pass it. The opponents of the Bill are apt not to believe that there is any danger of its passing until it has actually passed. Under these circumstances honesty is really the best policy. When the Government are in doubt on which side their interest lies, they cannot be wrong in acting as though it lay on the same side as their duty.

The Saturday Closing Bill is a less mischievous measure than its predecessor. As we are strongly of opinion that it deserves to be rejected, it may be well to admit this much at starting. It is intended, no doubt, to compass an end which is beyond the competence of Parliament; but in form it only aims at doing more perfectly what the law does already. It is acknowledged by the firmest believers in free trade in liquor that the necessities of public order demand that the hours during which liquor may be sold—at all events, for consumption on the premises—cannot be left to the discretion of the vendor. If a butcher or a baker liked to keep his shop open all night, nobody except himself and his apprentices would be the worse for it. There is no fear that the homeward journey with a leg of mutton or a quarter loaf would be attended with unseemly rioting. With liquor unfortunately the case is different. The traffic is one in which the possibility of its becoming a nuisance is never far removed. Consequently as the community naturally object to keeping a double staff of policemen, it becomes necessary to define with the utmost strictness the limits outside of which no liquor shall be sold, and it is at least conceivable that the greater amount of leisure which working-men have on the Saturday may make it expedient to make these limits narrower on that day than on others. Suppose, for example, that it were found that after ten o'clock on Saturday evening the amount of disorderly drunkenness became greater than the police were able to cope with, that would be a very good reason for closing public-houses at ten o'clock. In Wednesday's discussion no attempt was made to show that any such difficulty is experienced in Ireland. The promoters of Saturday closing are honest enough to avow that they advocate it, not with the view of preventing disorder, but with the view of preventing drinking. Working-men have more time at their disposal on Saturdays, and this misfortune can only be set right by providing that the public-houses shall be at their disposal for as small a part as possible of that time. That this is the object of the Bill is shown by the distinction it proposes to draw between town and country. In Ireland generally, Mr. SULLIVAN suggests that the hour of closing should be eight o'clock. In the five largest towns he suggests that it should be six o'clock. If the Bill were honestly a measure of police this arrangement would be exactly reversed. In the large towns there is no difficulty in maintaining order up to any reasonable hour. There is a sufficient staff of constables, and a certain proportion of them, at all events, are able to remain on duty as late as eight o'clock in the evening. In the country, on the other hand, the police force is scattered, or hardly exists at all, and it might sometimes be a real convenience if the constables could be sent home early. But, as the maintenance of order is not the object of the promoters of the Bill, these commonplace considerations are naturally put aside, and the object which they have really in view takes their place. In towns, from six to eight, people want to drink; therefore in towns the public-houses shall be shut at six. In the country people are otherwise employed from six to eight; therefore the public-houses may remain open until eight. It is a very simple formula when once it is mastered, and one that admits of being adapted to every possible case. Find out when people want to drink, and then shut the public-houses.

It would show an unjustifiable conceit to suppose that any arguments of ours would have any weight with the supporters of this measure. They have long made up their minds that the true object of regulating the liquor traffic is to diminish the quantity of liquor drunk. If all the people in Ireland were moderate drinkers, they would still wish, if it were possible, to convert them into

total abstainers ; and it is at least a step towards this end to impose a physical limit on the quantity they can drink in a week. If the average consumption used to be seven quarts weekly, Sunday closing may conceivably have reduced the seven to six, and in that case there may be ground to hope that the additional restriction it is now proposed to inflict may bring the six quarts down to five and a half. That is a sufficient improvement to be worth effecting, and the more so that it may only be the prelude to making every day first like Saturday and then like Sunday. Still, though the advocates of this kind of legislation are beyond the reach of conviction, there may be some use in repeating, for the twentieth time, the one sole and sufficient reason why such legislation must remain bad in principle. The authors of the Bill are welcome to all that they seek to prove. Let it be admitted that drunkenness can be put an end to by the simple expedient of not giving a man time in which to get drunk, and it will make no difference in our conviction that this is not an expedient that ought to be resorted to. If indeed it were proposed to make the prohibition of drinking personal, not general, the case would be different. There is no need to regard drunkards with any especial tenderness; indeed it is much to be wished that they met with less tenderness than they do. If Mr. SULLIVAN would undertake to ticket every man in Ireland who habitually drinks enough to make him drunk, he should be welcome to shut the doors of the public-houses against every wearer of the distinctive badge. It is the man who drinks and does not get drunk—the unfortunate moderate drinker, who is so readily offered up by the total abstainer for the benefit of the confirmed drunkard—that deserves sympathy. Why is Saturday evening singled out by the authors of this Bill, if it be not for the reason that Saturday evening is the time which, next to Sunday, working-men have most to themselves, and consequently the time in which they are most likely to resort to the public-house ? What this comes to is that the principal opportunity which the man who puts the public-house to its legitimate use has of anything like social enjoyment is to be denied him. No doubt the social enjoyment afforded by the public-house is not of a very exalted kind. But all the same it is probably the only kind open to him. It is a place which in comparison with his own home is warm and well lighted, and where he is sure to find friends. If the considerations which lead a young man to go to his club, instead of improving his mind in his chambers, were closely examined, they might not differ very greatly from these ; and we fail to see why the public-houses should be closed because some of its frequenters drink more than is good for them, any more than why the clubs should be closed because some of their frequenters play for higher stakes than they can afford to lose. Decent and reasonable men suffer enough by the follies of their fellows as it is. They are the poorer by them in a variety of ways which the law can do nothing to remedy. There is no need to make them suffer in person as well as in purse, or to prevent them from spending their Saturday evening in a way which gives them pleasure, and does harm to nobody else, in order to prevent a drunken neighbour from doing harm to himself.

#### THE EVOLUTION OF GAMES.

THE invention and distribution of games is a topic which, if we consider it for a moment, at once brings us face to face with the problems of human history. If we find the same sport, with much the same artificial rules, played, say, in Kamtschatka and Madagascar, certain questions at once ask for an answer. Does the uniformity of human nature go so far that it produces a uniformity even in the minute details of amusements? Or, again, have the pastimes whose distribution and resemblance puzzle us been brought from a common centre, either by migration or in the same way as articles of commerce are passed on from hand to hand? The answers given to these questions may vary in each instance, but in any case they must be interesting and important. Our eyes must be opened so as to see at least two great truths—first, the fatalism which is busy even in the sportive action of the human mind ; secondly, the vast age and wide extent of human intercourse.

The tradition of races whom Europe has known only in times comparatively recent often points to some half-mythical intercourse with civilization. Again, the architectural remains of peoples whose very name is forgotten, whose hieroglyphics are unread, whose gods have survived their makers, prove that in Northern and Southern America cultivated tribes

have passed away, like waves of the sea. Further, there can be no doubt that, as far as land runs unbroken by sea, caravan roads have existed from times beyond the ken of history. Thus M. Lenormant has traced, in a very suggestive paper, the trade-routes of the Phoenicians, which formed a kind of chain between the tribes on the Baltic, the Mediterranean, the Euphrates, the Nile, the Oxus, and the Amour. We cannot tell how far south in Africa these English of the old world may have pushed. Again, there seem always to have been casual communications between India and the isles that stretch to Sumatra ; and possibly, in some earlier conditions of the earth's surface, the Polynesian archipelagoes and New Zealand were not unaffected by alien civilization. Thus it is never absolutely impossible that identical or similar practices among races however widely severed, and ignorant even of each other's existence, may be importations. On the other hand, who can say where the mere uniformity of production which characterizes human nature stops working? Let us choose a strong example. If an Egyptian cartouche were found in an old Fijian grave, here, we might say with certainty, is an imported article. Take an example equally strong on the other side. Let a flint arrow-head of precisely the Red Indian pattern be found in Athenian soil, and we merely recognize the uniformity of human invention in an early stage. The instruments and the needs of the ancient dweller in Attica were precisely the same as those of the Iroquois or Seneca Indian ; and hence comes the identical product, the flint arrow-head.

Games, like many other things, occupy the debatable ground. The fancy can conceive that they were passed on from people to people, or it can, perhaps, imagine that they grew up alike, from separate germs, in different soils. Mr. E. B. Tylor has contributed to the May number of the *Fortnightly Review* a learned and amusing article on the history of games. On the whole, Mr. Tylor is rather inclined to hold that "artificial games," with their rules, have been carried from continent to continent, from isle to isle, by the activity of traders and adventurers in the dateless past, or perhaps in migrations of which the record has perished. Before examining his argument it may be as well to note a point which we think is omitted in his paper. The point, to be sure, is so important that it needs a separate article to itself. It is this. Supposing a rude race to be in casual contact with the people of a more civilized country, what are the institutions that the former is likely to borrow from the latter? Again, supposing that the Mexicans had migrated from Asia, what are the kinds of practices they would naturally carry away, and what would they leave behind? We ask these questions because, among the institutions common to widely separated races, it seems almost certain that several, and these strange and complicated ones, were not carried abroad or casually borrowed. The most primitive forms of marriage law are excessively complicated, and almost incredibly odd ; yet these, which clearly date from times of utter savagery, are the most widely spread of human ideas. Superstitions, again, of equally obvious savage origin, yet so strange that civilized people are puzzled to conceive how men ever invented things so wild, are of equally wide distribution. They are far more complicated, and far more widely spread, than a simple mechanical invention like the bow and arrow. Here then we possess (and this rather makes against Mr. Tylor's view of the distribution of games) examples of complicated ideas, almost universally distributed, and yet probably not carried abroad by any process of transmission. Do games belong to this class, or must one race have taught them to another? Here it must again be noted that artificial games are in question. The imitative sports of children depend on the practices of their elders. Children build sand-houses by the sea-shore in the *Iliad*, and probably will always do so where there are houses to imitate and "quantities of sand" to use.

The problem becomes difficult when we reach more complicated games. Mr. Tylor takes the example of ball-games played with a stick or racquet. Now one would naturally suppose that these grew up by the mere substitution of a stick for the feet in *hockey*, of a racquet for the palm of the hand in *fives* and in *tennis*, and of a bat for the hand in *stool-ball* and *cricket*. Cricket, indeed, is an example at once of progress and of degradation in games. It began with a stool for wicket, and the hand or a stick for bat. At schools and elsewhere where cricket is impossible "little cricket" is played ; and we have known, in a dormitory environment, a pair of socks used for ball and a hair-brush for bat. This is a degradation of cricket into something milder than the original *stool-ball*. But to return to Mr. Tylor ; he finds no ancient ball-games played with stick or bat. The Persians, who wanted to play on horseback, were the first who found a long stick necessary. This stick they called *chugan*; hence the Byzantine *τύκανίζειν*, and the French *chicane*, in which lawyers bandy about the unlucky clients. From the *chugan* came the croquet-mallet, the golf-club, with all the family of spoons, drivers, cleeks, bunker-irons, putters, and niblicks, came also the *hockey-stick*, and probably the bat, which was at first a thick club with a curved foot, a terrible weapon in the hands of a "slogger." We are not quite so sure that the *chugan* was the father of the racquet. In Byzantine descriptions of the game, a staff ending in a broad bend, filled in with a network of gutstrings, is mentioned. Was the network added to the staff by adapting a tennis-glove to the new instrument? Here we meet another difficulty. We do not see that it is proved that the Red Indians borrowed from Europe the racquet with which they play their splendid national game. The game has a religious sanction, and is accompanied by the singing of a song to the Great Spirit. The

Indians have a tradition that it was once played with *hockey sticks*. Now the Spaniards *might* have introduced the racquet; but it does not seem to us probable that the Indian ball-game with sticks was either brought in by them (did they play it?) or borrowed by the Mandans from Persia. It is worth the notice, however, of Mr. Tylor that, of all European institutions, cricket (and claret-cup, &c.) alone has a firm hold on the Australian black fellows. Mr. Moseley in vain tried to bribe long-leg to leave the game and shoot for him an *Ornithorhynchus paradoxus*. The Kanekas of New Caledonia, and even the inhabitants of more outlying isles, also took to cricket like good ones as soon as it was introduced. They cannot make bats, still less balls, exactly like ours, but they can come nearer the true article than the hair-brush and pair of stockings pattern. Though this is a digression, we cannot but hope that the M.C.C. will start an S.P.C., and induce the missionaries to publish, in the dialects of these interesting islanders, the well-considered laws of the game.

The alacrity and earnestness with which the Australians take to cricket, while they see no use in the industrial arts, is a point in Mr. Tylor's favour which he has neglected to score. It is his strongest argument almost that European children only learned the use of kites and of battledore and shuttlecock within the last three centuries. We may take it for granted that, if kites were to be found on Greek vases, or on Roman reliefs, or in mediæval MSS., Mr. Tylor or M. Becq de Fouquières would have found them there. On the other hand, Southern Asia is as much the centre of kite-flying as England is of cricket, and the sport is found (connected with religion) in the South Sea Islands and in New Zealand. The Maoris say that kites, made of leaves or bark-cloth, were invented by their native hero Maui, who hauled New Zealand itself out of the sea one day when he was fishing. Mr. Tylor thinks it "looks as though kite-flying were part of the drift of Asiatic culture which is evident in many other points of New Zealand life." Here one would like to know what the other points are, and whether the apparent Asiatic influence is more than a mere coincidence. It is certainly in Mr. Tylor's favour that these islanders, or rather that islanders even more backward, have a natural turn for picking up games, and forgetting matters which many Europeans think more important. If European influence were withdrawn from Australia for two or three centuries, the blacks would be rediscovered playing at a degenerate but recognizable cricket, and utterly oblivious of guns, boots, Christianity, whisky, and clothes. Thus, to take another example, the Mexicans *may* have got their backgammon from the Indian form of the game, which theirs very closely resembles, while they forgot to bring, or neglected to borrow, the more useful institution of wheels. It is hardly an answer to say that the Mexicans had no beasts of burden and no need of wheels; for men were their beasts, and would have found wheels uncommonly useful. But what a people like the Maoris do gives us no line as to what a people like the Aztecs would do.

In regard to such games as require the casting of dice, Mr. Tylor brings forward a theory which slightly clashes with the hypothesis to which, on the whole, he inclines. Dice, in their earliest form, were lots, and to cast lots was a religious or a magical ceremony, which degenerated into sport. Mr. Tylor will not maintain that the religious or magical casting of dice is an imported custom, or anything but a normal growth of superstitious fancy. Thus we have one natural half of all games of the backgammon sort. Whether draughts might not be separately invented in dozens of places and then combined with dice is a question which every one must decide for himself. We certainly think that the original elements, the combination, and the various improvements on it, might all occur to separate minds. It is a well-known fact, which causes much scientific hatred, that different people are constantly hitting on, and even patenting, the same invention. Thus we can readily entertain the idea that something like chess *might* have been invented more than once. So that, after all, in the present state of the evidence we are left to conjecture. In the spread of games some will recognize more of fatalism than of prehistoric intercourse between distant peoples, others more of prehistoric intercourse than of fatalism.

#### OUR SUBALTERNS AT GIBRALTAR.

WHEN we gave up the Protectorate of the Ionian Islands in a fit of sentimental generosity, we sacrificed one of the most delightful of our military stations. We do not suppose that the day is very near when the surrender of Gibraltar will be seriously mooted in the House of Commons; though in these days of agitation and advanced opinions there is no saying what some future Ministry may not do. A long and interesting letter which appeared in the *Times* of last Saturday directs attention to the sentimental grievance which the Spaniards find in our occupation of the Rock, and to the more practical questions that are raised by the prevalence of smuggling. That the Spaniards are persuaded that they have a grievance is certain, which is much the same thing as if they had a grievance in reality. Whether they would gain anything by the gratification of their desires is a matter that is more open to doubt. They would have to occupy a fortress which is practically impregnable, and they would make it the head-quarters of a Captain-General. When times of political disturbance came round again, that Captain-General, if he were ordinarily ambitious, would infallibly be tempted to "pronounce";

and, even if the rest of the Peninsula were pacified in one way or another, it would be difficult to stamp out the spark he had kindled. As for the contrabandistas, they would have to shift their industry elsewhere, to the annoyance of themselves and the dissatisfaction of their customers. It is not, however, with Imperial interests, but with the British officer and the travelling Englishman, that we are at present immediately concerned. Now that we have evacuated the Ionian Islands, we have no other such military post as "Gib." And while Corfu, Cephalonia, and Zante lay far aside from the beaten tracks, Gibraltar is a halting-place for every traveller to the East who does not book his passage overland to Marseilles. With the memories of pleasant sojourns in our mind we shall always regret the cession of the Ionian Islands. Nowhere was there softer Southern scenery than in Corfu; with the growth of vines and olives covering its swelling hills; with the wealth of wild flowers in the fields and the glorious bloom in the gardens; with the yachting in land-locked channels, shut in by feathering woods, under skies that reflected their azure in the waters; with the capital mixed shooting on the opposite Albanian shores, in scrub that swarmed in the season with most things, from wild boar down to woodcock; above all, perhaps, with the hospitable British mess and the cheery company of our countrymen in barracks, which one appreciated the more in the midst of a mongrel population. But, as we have said, you had to turn aside from the regular route when you contemplated a visit to those "Islands of the Blest," and, beautiful as they were, and with all their attractions, the life was apt to pall on one after a time, since they lay apart from the busy thoroughfares of traffic, and the society there had settled down into a sort of semi-stagnation.

With Gibraltar it is very different. If you ship from England direct for the Mediterranean or Egypt, you cannot help breaking the voyage there. No one who has once seen it can forget the first effect of "the Rock." There it stretches before you by sunrise or sunset or at midday as the case may be, looming with its lion-like outlines along the horizon ahead, looking large even in the shadow of the grand Andalusian Sierras. It thrusts its presence across the narrow straits, dwarfing its sister fortress of Ceuta, and silently challenging the passenger to lie to under its guns. Nothing can well be more enchanting than the landing there in the early spring, or what we should rather call the late winter. The heavy rains, which in their descent among the mountains have been turning dried-up water-courses into raging torrents, and sending the newly-formed waterfalls in sparkling showers down the parched and rugged faces of the precipices, have clothed the thinnest strips of soil with the most luxuriant verdure. The rows of cottages running up the Rock at impossible angles, the lines of semi-detached villas on the *Corniche* roads, appreciated for the most part by the Benedictines of the regiments, are covered with masses of blossoming foliage. The Alameda, with its crowd of promenaders listening to the military bands, is a blooming garden of fragrant delights. If you do not mind a certain publicity, you may breathe the love-whispers in bower of fuchsia and myrtle. Heavy batteries, like the famous "Snake in the Grass," mask their formidable muzzles under encircling wreaths of flowers. The grim pomp and pageantry of war appears to be masquerading in the garb of peace in carnival time. And the idea of a merry masquerade is kept up by the picturesqueness of the motley groups among which you are moving. On the Place before the Club House Hotel, where you may think yourself lucky if you have found accommodation, is a panorama of physiognomies, figures, and costumes from all the lands of the West and East. Conspicuous are Her Majesty's sentries before "the Main Guard"; and groups in that same scarlet uniform are strolling everywhere, showing patches of unseasonably brilliant colour in the glare of the glowing southern sun. There are Moors from Barbary and Arabs from Algeria, in their flowing burnouses and snowy turbans. There are Jews in their black garments and red fezzes and yellow morocco slippers down at the heel. There are swarthy Spaniards enveloped in leather leggings and the heavy folds of the everlasting *capa*, notwithstanding the more than genial warmth, stalking through the crowd with an air as haughtily impassive as that of the Orientals from the other side of the Straits; while among fair-haired German merchants and olive-coloured Italians swarm the native-bred "Scorpions of the Rock." Should you have merely gone ashore for a few hours while your steamer is coaling, you are loth indeed to be torn from the scene which you have barely had time to realize. You feel besides that you are to miss the delicious freshness of the evening, for the vessel has been timed to sail at sunset, when the gates of the fortress lock up for the night. But if you have come out with a draft to join your regiment your pleasures, as you know, are only beginning, and you make sure that you are an exceedingly fortunate fellow. It is all so unlike anything you have had experience of at home, and it seems impossible that you can ever cease to be alive to the novelty of it. And, indeed, as the weeks go quickly by, the place is likely to appear more and more seductive. The gay young subaltern finds himself domiciled in a scene that seems an enchanted Cremorne or Vauxhall, as those once famous suburban pleasure resorts used to be in their palmy days. There is drill, no doubt, and early morning parade, and pretty frequent mounting of guard and musketry practice, but these unfortunate drawbacks are inevitable anywhere. And here, by way of compensation, a paternal War Office has done everything for the health and entertainment of its servants. All work and no play makes Jack a dull boy, but Jack may have plenty of play upon the Rock. There

are airy and spacious mess-rooms and ante-rooms; there are excellent billiard tables, admirable racquet courts, with newspapers and garrison libraries for wet days, and for the students who care to combine instruction with their siestas. The living, on the whole, is good; and the luxuries that make life go pleasantly are cheap. The beef from Barbary may leave something to be desired, and is hardly equal to the best Aberdeenshire. But it is passable for men with unimpaired digestions. The Spaniards are famous for chestnut-fed pork; there is delicious fish from the swift-running Straits; in the game season you think nothing of ordering a brace or two of woodcock for breakfast, making "elegant extracts" of the trail and the thighs; while the dessert, of course, is all that could be wished. Sherry may be had reasonably enough, though it seems a pity to those who are particular about their livers that the messes do not lay down their wine a little longer; cognac comes in free of duty; and as for the facilities for obtaining tobacco and cigars, has not the *Times*' Correspondent made them the burden of his letter? And, to crown everything, as in that voluptuous climate and those picturesquely poetical scenes it is hardly possible to help being sentimental, so there always seem to be an unusual proportion of marriageable damsels with whom there is no difficulty whatever in getting up a pleasant flirtation. It is true that it seldom comes to any thing serious in the end; but this is of the less consequence to either party as there was little self-deception on that score from the first.

Were Gibraltar to slip its moorings and be shifted out to mid-ocean it might appear a dreary prison enough. But it is within easy reach of Ceuta and Tangiers; there are tiny steamers perpetually shooting across the Bay to the Spanish town of Algesiras opposite; and, above all, a ride along the narrow neck of the Lines will speedily land you among the *ventas* in the famous cork wood, or send you climbing those picturesque heights whence you look across to the Atlas from behind St. Roque. There is no better fun anywhere than a good day with the Calpe Hunt, though the country will hardly compare with Leicestershire. There is no great fear of drawing blank, if the chances of a kill are somewhat problematical; and, though you may be landed among rocks, or brought to a standstill in undergrowth, or be turned back by the swelling of some mountain rivulet, you are sure of a gallop in one shape or another. Horseflesh is comparatively cheap; and the stout little stallions, when in good condition, are full of fire, and will hold out forever. Among the blessings brought to Spain by the Moorish invasion may be numbered this importation of blood stock from their deserts. And there are hazards to be met with in the Spanish hunting-field which lend it a happy local colouring. You may be charged when you least expect it by a bull who is being bred for the ring, especially should you be wearing the correct scarlet; and there are floating traditions, though we believe them to be apocryphal, of the abduction of belated horsemen by brigands, who have carried them off to lonely caverns and held them to heavy ransom. Yachting may, of course, be indulged in *ad libitum*; though you run the risk of being becalmed or swept away by the currents, so that you may fail to turn up at the evening roll-call. And there is fair shooting in the season along the sands and in the cork covers; and, when that begins to be monotonous, or should the game run short, you may easily knock up a sporting party for Barbary, finding excellent quarters in the town of Tangiers. Forced residence anywhere must be more or less of an exile; and it must be confessed that on the Rock in the dog-days the heat is apt to become oppressive. But then you have always the resource of leave before any serious mischief can be done; and only compare the place with Aden or an Indian garrison! We repeat that it is the very paradise of foreign stations. Nor can we conceive a more agreeable destination for a cadet who has just been gazetted to his corps, and has his life and all the world before him.

#### THE ROMAN CATHOLIC EDUCATIONAL FEUD.

**T**HREE seems to be a very pretty quarrel going on about the schools at Mallow just now, though it may hardly merit the grandiloquent designation of the *Times*, as "one of the most remarkable episodes in the history of the Roman Catholic Church in later days in Ireland." At all events its leading characteristics are essentially and amusingly Irish. It presents just that comic appearance of all ordinary rules and experiences being turned topsy-turvy which we are wont to associate with the Hibernian name. It is a quarrel of bishops with the laity, where the bishops are the zealous champions of the National system of education, while the laity obstinately adhere to the maintenance of narrow denominationalism; it is a quarrel where the clergy are at loggerheads with their flocks, but the clergy are bent on introducing a sound course of secular instruction and the people are wedded to the narrowest obscurantism; it is a battle fought on the one side with ecclesiastical censures and interdicts "of the gravest kind," and on the other with the more carnal weapons of brickbats and petroleum, while the combatants on either side in this internecine struggle are Catholics of irreproachable orthodoxy. In short it is a kind of contest hardly conceivable in any country in the world except Ireland. But what does it all mean, our readers may be tempted to inquire.

In the first place it will be convenient to explain briefly what has occurred. It appears that for some fifty years past a religious fraternity founded for educational purposes by Pius VII, have

been carrying on their work, on the strictest denominational principles, in various parts of Ireland, and the parish schools of the town of Mallow were in their hands. But in 1875 the national Synod of Maynooth passed certain decrees against the order, and the Brothers appealed to Rome against the decision of the Synod, the operation of which was in consequence wholly or partially suspended. So matters continued in abeyance till the present year, when for some reason or other the bishops—whether with or without the direct sanction of Rome does not appear—resolved to act, and the Bishop of Cloyne, Dr. McCarthy, led the way. On St. Patrick's day (March 17) the Christian Brothers at Mallow received notice to quit, and they took their departure after handing over the schools to Archdeacon O'Regan, the parish priest. The Brothers themselves submitted quietly; not so the people, who after a fortnight's scrimmage—we can find no more appropriate term—were induced by the Bishop to refer the dispute to the arbitration of twelve delegates, six chosen by him and six by themselves. But their notion of an agreement was evidently the good old Irish one, that they should "have their own consent," and when a majority of the deputies, seven to five, took the bishop's part, they accused the faithless defaulters who had been convinced by the arguments of the other side of ratting, and "declined all further responsibility in the matter"; which means, being translated out of the Irish, that they immediately took forcible possession of the schools—the keys of which had been given up to the bishop before the conference—and refused admission to their parish priests. Upon this the bishop, finding his peaceful overtures ineffectual, thought it was time to have recourse to more drastic measures. At mass on the following Sunday a missive was read denouncing heavy ecclesiastical pains and penalties against all who should retain possession of the schools. For a moment the threat appeared to have succeeded. The people gave up possession, but whether they thought the episcopal jurisdiction only extended over the day of rest, or for whatever reason, they returned to the attack on Monday evening in a fashion which is thus described by the *Times*' Correspondent, and which forcibly recalls the cheerful national manner of honouring "the glorious and immortal memory" on July 1 at Derry and Belfast:—

Late to-night the schools were again taken possession of by an infuriated mob, who commenced to wreak their vengeance by breaking the windows. There is not a pane of glass left in the entire building, and the glass cases and glass divisions separating the schools were also smashed. The police were called upon in the early part of the night, but could do nothing at first to prevent the mischief. An attempt was made to burn the premises with paraffin oil; but this act was frustrated. Several people got on the roof and attempted to strip it. One of the constabulary was cut in the head with a stone.

At length the building was rescued from the rioters and placed in the hands of the constabulary. But the damage done is estimated at 300*l.*, and Archdeacon O'Regan has applied to a grand jury for compensation. Meanwhile these doughty lay defenders of religious orders and the interests of orthodox education are not content with wrecking the schools and defying the bishop; they also refuse to pay their Easter dues to their pastors. It had been carefully explained to them that the instruction, both secular and religious, of the Brothers was found to be defective, and that by adopting the National system the town would gain a Government grant of 800*l.*, besides being saved the cost of 200*l.* at present contributed to the support of the Christian Brothers. But the explanation fell on deaf ears. And on Sunday last, according to the report of the *Freeman's Journal* quoted in the *Tablet*, the Rev. A. Morrissey, C.C., after the last mass ordered the list of Easter offerings to be read out—which was chiefly remarkable for its brevity—and then proceeded to deliver an impassioned allocution to the effect that no one professing the Catholic faith and accepting the ministrations of the priesthood was at liberty to refuse these offerings; they were bound by the law of the Church to contribute, and the priests owed them no gratitude for discharging what was a plain duty. After which he went on not very consistently to observe that "they (the priests) did not live very luxuriously at best, but he might tell them that he would be content to live on the most humble fare on which any man could exist rather than accept one penny from the men who could arrive at such a conclusion. One penny of their money would never again enter his pocket." However, "he would continue to condemn their action as long as he had a tongue in his head. If the people of Mallow did not support their priests the world was wide." About the schools he declined to say anything more than that they were bound to obey their Bishop. The *Tablet* adds that Dr. Moran, Bishop of Ossory, is gone to Rome, partly it is supposed on account of the controversy about the Christian Brothers.

So far the affair might seem like a mere local squabble, highly characteristic in its truly Hibernian details, but of no great interest to any but those immediately concerned. We are inclined however to suspect, when all the circumstances are taken into account, that it is really something more than this. The chronic feud between the secular and regular clergy is of course a common-place of ecclesiastical history, though it has for obvious reasons been kept comparatively in the background for the last three centuries, during which period however the number of religious communities has rapidly increased. There is no body of men in the world so keenly sensitive to "scandal"—to the practical inconvenience of washing one's dirty linen in public—as the Roman Curia. Still, in spite of all the efforts of Rome to keep the peace, at least externally, the religious orders, and especially the Jesuits—the most powerful and insubordinate of them

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all—have again and again begun or provoked an open conflict. At length in 1774 Clement XIV. (Ganganelli) at the urgent solicitation or with the full approval of every Roman Catholic sovereign in Europe, suppressed the Order, which would soon have died out altogether had not the disbanded Fathers deliberately set at nought Papal decrees which they of all men were most solemnly bound and pledged implicitly to obey, and prolonged a corporate existence forbidden by their Church under the aegis of the schismatical Catharine of Russia. We cannot linger here over the particulars of this strange story, which is admirably told by Mr. Cartwright. Suffice it to say that the commencement of the great Ultramontane reaction which dates from the crisis of the first French Revolution was marked by the restoration of the Jesuit Order by Pius VII. They were allowed to profit by their own wrong, and, having secretly kept alive their organization for forty years under Papal interdict, were prepared on its removal at once to resume their old position in the world. It will perhaps be asked what has this to do with the Christian Brothers at Mallow? We cannot affirm positively that there is any official bond of connexion between the Christian Brothers and the Jesuits, but it is noteworthy that the same Pope who restored the one Society established the other. Nor is this all. The raid that is being made by the Irish Bishops on the educational status of these Brothers—not seemingly without good reason—coincides curiously enough with a raid just now being made by the English Roman Catholic Bishops on the Jesuit Colleges. We have seen that Bishop Moran of Ossory is gone to Rome to make arrangements about the former controversy. Cardinal Manning and Bishop Clifford have been engaged in negotiations for some months past about the latter with the Pope, who is known to be no friend of the Jesuits. And the *Tablet*, of which another bishop, who opened the attack on the Jesuits, is the proprietor, has taken up the cudgels with a freedom very unusual in English Roman Catholic journalism, and which would hardly have been tolerated, and in fact would never have been ventured upon, if it could not count on influential support.

Our readers may recollect that we called attention last summer to the vigorous exposure of the disciplinary system of the Jesuit Colleges in a pamphlet by the Hon. and Rev. W. Petre, himself a cultivated and accomplished Roman Catholic priest engaged in the work of education. The *Tablet* could not be expected to commit itself to so trenchant a philippic, if that indeed can be called a philippic which rests for its whole force, not on rhetorical declamation, but on a bare and unadorned though terribly graphic recital of damning facts. But for several months of last year a controversy was carried on between the *Tablet* and the *Month*—the Jesuit organ—on the rights of the Order and its relation to the episcopate. And last week our contemporary took up the educational side of the question in language which had it come from an outsider or a "Liberal Catholic" would have been promptly denounced, as it has before now been denounced, as a scandalous exhibition of the most calumnious and bigoted malevolence. First there is a speech quoted by Bishop Vaughan of Salford, the protagonist of the episcopal assault on the Jesuits, who "does not think these colleges have trained these young men to appreciate the importance of public life and led them to aspire with zeal and energy to enter into the various walks of the public life of this country." It is curious by the way that a precisely opposite charge should be brought against the Jesuit Colleges in France, where we are told by the Editor of the *Fortnightly Review* that "the most that their enemies are able to say is, that in the schools of the religious Orders too much attention is paid to comfort; the boys are better tended, better fed, better trained in those maxims and habits which in grown-up men we call knowledge of the world"; all which is rather unreasonably "assumed to be so much taken from solid study," though there is strong evidence for the efficiency of these schools, and indeed "one of the most successful schools in Paris belongs to the Jesuits." But if this is so in France, there is abundant testimony to the opposite effect in England. Our present concern however is not with the facts themselves, but with the view of the facts taken by the Roman Catholic bishops and their organs. We have seen what Bishop Vaughan says, and the *Tablet* not only quotes his words, but takes leave to press them very earnestly on the attention of its readers. It does more; it improves upon them. "This much we may authoritatively say; that the results obtained by our College and school system are such as to justify the doubts about it which have been so freely expressed of late." There was a time, not so very long ago, when the gentlest hint of such doubts threw the whole Ultramontane press into a red heat of orthodox horror and vituperation. "Of course," proceeds the writer, "we suffer and must necessarily suffer [that is, we presume, while Cardinal Manning's influence continues to be paramount] by the unavoidable seclusion of our young men from the public schools and universities of the country . . . it is too certain that the characteristic excellence of character which it is the special office of the English [public school] system to bring out, and which are of such vast importance in a public career in England, are not produced by our educational institutions in anything like the same degree. The régime exercised in some of them"—this must apply pre-eminently, if not exclusively, to the Jesuit discipline described by Mr. Petre—"turns out young men who are simply overgrown good boys, without any power of thinking and acting for themselves; who indeed enter upon life with a fair prospect of doing little harm, but without any prospect at all of doing good, except in the most private and domestic capacity. On the other hand,"

proceeds the writer, speaking evidently from disagreeable experience, "how often, when we find natural endowments rising ever so little above the most ordinary level of mediocrity, are they marred, and indeed nullified, by pretentious self-assertion and overweening self-conceit." And then he cites a remark made to him by "a distinguished Protestant," who thought "that your schools and colleges are odd places; they seem to turn out many dunces and a few prigs." The *Tablet* of course feels bound to qualify this indictment as exaggerated, but it is anxious to point out that "a useful lesson" may be learnt from it. To those who know anything of these colleges and their working, whether Protestants or not, there will be nothing surprising in the comments made upon them; the significant point—and it is in many ways very significant—is that they should be repeated from such a quarter. We seem to have stumbled on some old number of the *Rambler*, or to be reading some wicked Protestant libel on those venerable nurseries of piety and sound learning, but the eye roves uneasily to the top of the page, and we find it is the *Tablet*. "Is Saul also among the prophets?"

## CHAMPAGNE.

IT might be thought difficult in these days to find a subject of interest to most people concerning which very little has been written; but Mr. Henry Vizetelly, the author of a recently published work called *Facts about Champagne* (Ward, Lock, & Co.), has certainly succeeded in doing so. There is perhaps nothing which is so universally liked as champagne. It is the one wine which almost everybody enjoys. Concerning all others there is never-ending difference of opinion. Some men, even in this civilized age, wonder what there is to admire in claret; others, of more advanced views, think port only fit for farmers; to not a few very dry sherries seem either insipid or bitter, and there are people to whom hock appears very poor stuff; but about champagne there is acquiescence well nigh as universal as that of the faithful in a dogma. It is true that the most exhilarating of wines is sometimes abused by men who are no longer able to drink it, and that the affectation which once prevailed of speaking of it as only fit for women and boys is not altogether obsolete; but happily the gouty and the affected are, after all, but a very small minority: and, with the exception of these unfortunate and of the teetotalers, who are more to be pitied than blamed, there are but very few persons who have not some liking for champagne. Concerning it the learned and unlearned are for once in complete concord. The connoisseur—that is, the real and not the sham connoisseur—and the man who utterly despises a taste for wine, cease for a moment to feel strong contempt for each other when they are drinking champagne together. Middle-aged men relish it as much as young men, and—most striking fact of all—women share with regard to this wine the taste of those whom they are born to differ from. No doubt the kind of champagne they are fond of is different from that which men usually prefer; but complete and absolute agreement between the sexes is scarcely to be expected on any subject, and may almost be considered as opposed to the laws of nature. Respecting champagne men and women agree as much as they are ever likely to agree, and such popularity cannot be exceeded. To learn something about the manner in which the wine which has such a charm for all is made can hardly fail to be interesting to many, and as very little has been written concerning it, Mr. Vizetelly's book is likely to be widely read. Fortunately he has no unpleasant revelations to make. No one will think less of the sparkling drink which is so cunningly prepared at Rheims and Epernay after studying his pages. Rather will increased respect be felt for champagne when the wonderful care which is exercised in making it, and the great knowledge which is required to make it rightly, are properly understood.

There may, indeed, be some disappointment in one respect. Almost the only fault which most people have to find with good champagne is that it is so dear; possibly some may be sanguine enough to think that this fault may be cured or lessened. Any one who hopes, however, that a day may come when fine champagne will be cheap will rise from the perusal of Mr. Vizetelly's work with the feeling that his hope is shattered for ever. Even if it were found possible to extend widely the cultivation of the grapes, which can now only be grown in certain districts, the elaborate process followed in the preparation of the wine would always make it costly. To describe that process throughout would require far more space than we can give to the subject; and even Mr. Vizetelly, though he devotes a whole chapter to it, does not thoroughly explain it. A few years ago a sketch of this process was given in these columns, but it may be well to refer to Mr. Vizetelly's more exhaustive account in order once more to show how much trouble and how large an expenditure are required to produce champagne of a high class. The first part of the process consists, of course, in the treatment of the must; and with this all possible pains are taken. It is first of all allowed to flow into vats, in which it rapidly throws up a scum and deposits a thick sediment. Great pains are taken to remove these and thoroughly to clear the must, as much of the subsequent excellence of the wine depends on this being properly done. This operation over, the wine is poured into casks which are kept in a cool cellar during part of the winter, and in which a slow fermentation goes on, and when the spring arrives the wine is fit for that blending with the products of

other vineyards which is so essential a feature in the manufacture of champagne. The object of this is to obtain the requisite flavour by mixing in various proportions the wines from different vineyards which have distinct and very agreeable characteristics. To use Mr. Vizetelly's language, the "aim is to combine and develop the special qualities of the respective *cruis*, body and vinosity being secured by the red vintages of Bouzy and Verzenay, softness and roundness by those of Ay and Lizy, and lightness, delicacy, and effervescence by the white growths of Avize and Cramant. The proportions are never absolute, but vary according to the manufacturer's style of wine and the taste of the countries which form his principal markets." The first fermentation has of course been completed some time before the mixing takes place. Why it is that a second fermentation of a very active kind within a short period after blending can be looked forward to as not merely probable, but as absolutely certain, is not very easy to say. Mr. Vizetelly mentions the fact that sugar is sometimes added to the wine at this time, but his ideas respecting the causes of the active second fermentation appear to be very hazy. Perhaps these could only be properly explained by a manufacturer of champagne.

When the blending is over, the wine is fined, bottled, and placed in cellars, to the temperature of which great attention is paid. Fermentation soon begins, a large quantity of carbonic acid gas is developed, and a sediment is thrown down in the bottles. When, in the judgment of the manufacturer, the time has arrived for getting rid of this, and for submitting the wine to the final operation which makes perfected champagne of it, the bottles are put in slanting racks, and are shaken daily in a peculiar manner, which, according to Mr. Vizetelly and to others who have described the process, requires considerable skill. The result is that the sediment is in time formed into what Mr. Vizetelly calls "a kind of muddy ball," and is worked down into the neck of the bottle. Then comes the *dégorgement*, which may be described as the final purification of the wine. The bottle is uncorked, and the nasty muddy ball is immediately driven out. The instant it has been expelled the workman who effects the *dégorgement* thrusts his finger into the neck of the bottle, and with a cunning twist removes any sediment which may be adhering to it. The wine, thus freed from all impurities, then has liqueur added to it; the loss caused by the *dégorgement*—which is said to be wonderfully small, owing to the skill of the workmen—is made good; the bottles are corked by a machine which compresses the corks greatly just before thrusting them in, so as to ensure a very tight fit; and after a shaking to amalgamate the wine and liqueur, and a short period of rest, the champagne is fit to go from the manufacturer to the wine-merchant, and from the wine-merchant to the consumer. That it will be greatly the better by being kept for a long period need hardly be said, as it is well known that up to a certain point champagne improves much with age. The time for which it should be kept varies largely, of course, according to the nature of the wine, which, it should be observed, is in some cases by no means young when it leaves the manufacturer's establishment. Mr. Vizetelly remarks that some firms which pride themselves on shipping perfectly matured wines keep them in the first bottles for three years or more, and he might have added that by doing this they very probably ensure excellence. In the opinion of those best able to judge, a long period of repose in the first bottles is of the utmost importance when it is desired to produce a champagne of the highest class. A marked difference can, it is said, be observed between wines of the same vintage which have been liqueured at different dates. Unfortunately, however, the price must necessarily be considerable when the wine has lain for long in the manufacturer's cellars.

In some parts of Mr. Vizetelly's work there is a variety of information not so directly useful as that about the making of champagne, but likely to interest. He describes with no small literary skill and in a very pleasing manner the champagne country, the vineyards, the establishments, and the vast cellars of the champagne-makers. It must be said, however, that his treatment of the subject he has undertaken is not altogether satisfactory, owing apparently to his not understanding some matters relating to it. He speaks as an expert; but, strange to say, he scarcely seems to discriminate fitly between what may be called tavern wines of a good kind and those which are to be found in clubs or in well-kept private houses. It would be invidious to name some manufacturers as ranking below others; but certainly any one acquainted with what various firms produce will be surprised at the manner in which Mr. Vizetelly appears to class them together. It is a further defect in his account of the champagne-makers that it is not complete. Although he speaks of many manufacturers whose wine is certainly not in the first class, he has nothing to say about such firms as those of Lanson and Dagonet, while that of Frémelin is only casually mentioned. The brands of these makers are wanting in the list which he gives. Of M. Perrier Jouet's wines Mr. Vizetelly has seemingly a low opinion; but this can only be due to ignorance. If he had ever tasted the Perrier Jouet champagne of 1846, he would certainly have felt some respect for the brand which has for long been so deservedly popular in England.

Despite these blemishes, however, his book is a useful one, and is likely to be read with interest. An English book in honour of champagne ought certainly to be successful, since Englishmen have undeniably a finer appreciation of this wine than any other people. The dry champagnes which are manufactured principally for this country can be made only from the best grapes, and are indisputably superior to the wines which are liked, not only in Germany and

Russia, but even in France. As is well known, the French object to the English plan of drinking champagne during dinner, and no doubt they are right if the slightly mawkish wines in which they take delight are to be drunk; but the case is quite different with the exquisite dry champagnes which are produced for the English market. They are quite fit to be drunk at dinner, and how much they are enjoyed at dinner every one knows. For once Englishmen have been more intelligent in a matter relating to the table than the French, and as it is in their appreciation of champagne that they have achieved this solitary triumph, it is only fitting that there should be a book about champagne by an English writer.

#### THE NEW WINDOW IN KING'S COLLEGE CHAPEL.

KING'S College, Cambridge, was last week the scene of a very interesting festival in a gathering of its members, past and present, to commemorate a double benefaction in the completion of a fountain by Mr. Armitstead, due to the accumulated largess of a deceased fellow, and the gift by a former, but still living, one of painted glass to fill the west window of the chapel. All whom this notice can interest must, or ought to know, King's College Chapel and its wonderful glass, which marries harmoniously the forms and spirit of the earliest Renaissance in which its designers were trained, to the late Gothic of the structure itself. Until this year, while the east and the side windows gleamed with the enrichment of glass-painting, the west one had from the very day of its construction been conspicuously glazed with plain glass. Most people lamented this as a shortcoming, while a few bold reasoners were acute over contrasts, and plausible over the chance thereby afforded of a more accurate inspection of constructive details than could be obtained under the modified light of the coloured windows.

However, Mr. Stacey, a man of action rather than of words, while abstaining from any share in the venerable controversy, declared his willingness to give painted glass for the window provided that Messrs. Clayton and Bell should be employed, and that the subject selected should be the Last Judgment—a subject traditionally appropriate for a west window in general, and here especially so, as bringing to a conclusion the distinctive series of Scriptural histories. The donor's stipulations were happily accepted, and the window now stands completed. Nothing can be a more hopeless enterprise than to attempt to realize a painted window by description, except the attempt to embody in language the flavour of a dish, so we shall not lose our time over the experiment. The subject is of course treated conventionally, and in the artist's words, "the general idea has been to set forth the scene of the Judgment as within a vast hall, of semicircular plan, from the centre of which rises a canopy of elaborate architectural design, which penetrates high into the tracery openings above the main lights." We refrain from further quotation or from even recapitulating the personages with whom this mystical "hall" is filled, and the dread action symbolized, for we are only concerning ourselves with the general effect of the window. Our criticism is a very brief one, namely, that we cannot conceive—given all the circumstances—a more complete success. We have already hinted at the actual, however tolerable, disparity of architectural style between the chapel itself—Gothic, though Gothic of the latest—and the Renaissance glass. Messrs. Clayton and Bell have with great ingenuity worked back into details which recall the adjacent architecture, and yet avoided clashing with the style of the existing windows. Their glass, in a word, is the connecting link which completes the general harmony. The various figures are in their design statuesque and archaic, and yet conformable to the rules of anatomical art; and the contrasts of golden, red, and blue in the tints of the glass merit the highest commendation which can be bestowed upon a painted window.

So much for the work in itself, which mainly interests us as a typical specimen of the stage of progress to which the art of glass-painting in England has reached, and which we are particularly glad to see attained by men whom the multiplicity of their engagements must continually expose to the risk of becoming producers rather than artists. When we necessarily name in this connexion Messrs. Clayton and Bell, we desire at the same time to recognize the high merit of other competitors in an art which it may now be difficult for the younger generation to think of as having assumed that influential position with which they are familiar within the lifetime of many who are still active in the controversies which that very position has engendered. It would be a thankless and superfluous task for us to hark back upon the laborious failures, at so much cost of time, money, and temper, for which the active decade between 1840 and 1850 was responsible. The great impulse was at that time given to the reviving art of glass-painting by Mr. Markland's discovery of "memorial windows," in substitution for what were impertinently dubbed "marble blisters." No doubt Mr. Markland was the immediate, though innocent, cause of many monstrosities; but, as undoubtedly, the new idea which he struck out has been an artistic motive power of no common energy. For some time a painted window was a painted window; and cathedrals and noble churches, otherwise richly and satisfactorily reinstated, labour under the gratuitous infliction of the hopeless discord of adjacent but wholly incongruous glass paintings. It would have been uncanny had it been otherwise. Now we see the far more refreshing spectacle of a cathedral such as Durham, in which thirteenth, fourteenth, and

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fifteenth century windows have been by Messrs. Clayton and Bell filled with painted glass, each window a specimen reproducing its true archaeological tone of colour and speciality of design, and yet all of them corresponding with each other in a general and satisfactory harmony.

In no intentional spirit of Philistinism, but in order to point a useful art lesson, we may glance at the contemporaneous history of the revival of glass-painting in France. The vicissitudes through which this art has run across the Channel are in marked contrast to its career in England. It had, like the other arts subsidiary to architecture, which the Gothic revival recalled to life, fallen into a more complete decrepitude in France than in England; and its resuscitation during the reign of Louis Philippe was more abrupt and, so to speak, defiant than the similar process which was at the same time going on at home. The revival of glass-painting was of course dependent on that wider revival which is compendiously termed ecclesiastical, and this took its local shape by its being a matter of national pride with the leaders of the French movement at that period to be intolerant of any form of Pointed architecture except the robust and grandiose one familiar to all architects as Early French. Early French was as conspicuously distinguished for its characteristic glass-painting as for any other incident, while this distinctive method survived its architectural belongings sufficiently long to have reached its climax in the windows of that classical specimen of the second style, the Sainte Chapelle, upon which for practical reasons the attention of French artists was much directed. So the glass-painters of that period, conspicuous among whom stood Henry Gerente—a man of undoubted talent, who was carried off, while still young, by the outburst of cholera which devastated Paris in 1832—applied themselves with much energy and considerable success to reproducing windows such as those in the eastern limb of Canterbury Cathedral, which owe their effect to a bold mosaic of rich unrelieved primitive colours, saliently contrasted and studded with subject panels, equally rich in coloration. There was much to be said both for and against the sudden reintroduction of the peculiar glass-painting of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries to the nineteenth. Its effects of colour were undoubtedly gorgeous, while grouping and figure-drawing were barbarous, both in composition and in anatomy. Other nationalities might have tried to preserve the one characteristic and improve the other; but this was the last thought to cross the minds of enthusiastic young Frenchmen possessed of a new idea. They were for the time pretty much masters of the situation. The spontaneous revival among educated classes generally—lay folk no less than clergy—of a taste for ecclesiastical art, which has so conspicuously marked England, had but a feeble counterpart in France. Montalembert worked hard to produce it, but his success was very limited. Much Gothic work was done, but the only classes which visibly concerned themselves with it were the artists and antiquaries who really cared for it from an obvious combination of motives, the bureaucracy, who accepted it as a new way of distributing that backsheesh on which all Governments in France so confidently lean, and the priesthood, who, with some conspicuous exceptions, accepted the ecclesiastical revelations in a curiously unintelligent spirit. In all this there was none of the spontaneity—the search for moral beyond material results, the strokes of originality dashed with absurd mistakes—which have given such reality to the corresponding movement in England. Accordingly the rage for the "treizième siècle" glass, always rather artificial, cooled under the combined action of years and revolutions. The enthusiasts of the first generation died, or were snubbed, or trained off. The clergy had never really understood or appreciated it; but what they did thoroughly understand was that which we venture to distinguish by a new word, and call Pio-Nonism—Sacré Coeur, Immaculate Conception, La Salette, and Lourdes—and they naturally wanted to see their tastes and convictions embodied and displayed in their churches. Mosaic windows framing the customs and dresses of Louis's days were no help to them, but scene-painting transferred to glass came very handy. The naturalistic system of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, with large sprawling pictures contemptuous of mullions and ambitious of a perspective impossible in a transparent material, which, as revived in the certainly able and refined hands of the Munich artists, seemed for a time to be taking an upward course, passed into France, and there was vulgarized by the competing purveyors of "ecclesiastical objects." Under their manipulation staring figures, stagey grouping, violent attitudes, opaque pigments, crude colour, combined to dazzle the uneducated eye of the seminarist; and while a producer is here and there struggling to keep alive the not quite satisfactory practice of thirty years ago, the general run of that painted glass which is being multiplied through the churches of France is equally offensive whether tested by the rules of art or by the traditions of archaeology. Such a collapse in such a country as France of an art so closely bound up with our deepest feelings of reverence, is melancholy and instructive.

#### SMALL INVESTMENTS IN GOVERNMENT FUNDS.

**M**R. SHERMAN has lately taken a measure which has an interest both for those who desire to see habits of thrift fostered among the working classes and for those who are anxious to attach the largest possible proportion of the population to the

institutions of their country. It is confessedly in imitation of what was long since done in France, but the imitation differs materially from the original. The smallest bond issued by the United States is for fifty dollars, or ten pounds sterling. In a country where the normal rate of wages is so high, and where the opportunities of saving are so great, such a bond would seem to be within the reach of nearly every thrifty person. It appears otherwise, however, to the American Government, which has decided to afford still greater facilities to the poor for investment in the Federal funds. The determining motive has avowedly been the wish to extirpate communism. *A priori* one would suppose the United States to be a very uncongenial soil for communism. Every man is there admitted on the easiest conceivable terms to a share in the government; land is offered at almost nominal rates to all who choose to settle upon it; and in ordinary times employment is abundant and wages are high. There would seem, then, to be a total absence of the conditions under which communism is generated. But the large immigration from Germany has introduced the leaven into the country. What is passing before our eyes illustrates the strength of the communist feeling in Germany; and the recent railway riots brought home to the minds of Americans the conviction that the doctrine had made a lodgment amongst themselves. Mr. Sherman judged that one of the most efficacious ways of combating the invasion was to give the largest possible number of the working classes a pecuniary interest in the Federal funds. Doubts have, indeed, been expressed as to the soundness of this conclusion. It is undeniably the teaching of all experience that people who have property are usually on the side of order; but it is argued that there is no sufficient evidence that investment in the funds creates this sentiment more strongly than investment in any other kind of property that would be likely to suffer from rioting or revolution. We hardly think, however, that those who thus argue make sufficient allowance for the influence of the fact that disorder, or the apprehension of disorder, has a special tendency to depreciate the national stocks. But the measure does not rest on this consideration alone for its justification. It is also to be remembered that when the funds are widely held by the population of a country, they are not liable to fluctuate so much as when they are in a few hands. Except in revolutionary times, the credit of a great Government is not easily affected so as to generate a panic; and, unless there is a panic, the masses do not part with their investments. Further, it tends to promote thrift to bring within the reach of ordinary working-men a security of the highest class yielding a fair interest. For these reasons Mr. Sherman determined to offer a part of the Four per Cent. Loan in such a shape as would suit the humblest person who had money to put by. He did not issue a smaller class of bonds than those already known to American investors; but instead he offered interest-bearing certificates of the value of ten dollars, or two pounds. Mr. Sherman's idea is that, when five of these certificates are obtained, they shall be exchanged for a fifty-dollar bond; but, as we understand it, this exchange is not obligatory, and indeed it is not easy to see how such an obligation could be enforced. The certificates were not to be ready before April, and therefore it is not known how the plan has been received; but it has been reported that banks and other institutions considered them an eligible form of investment, more readily saleable than the ordinary bond, and intended therefore to take a considerable portion of them.

In France, as is well known, investment in the funds has been brought within the reach of the very lowest. So long ago as the first year of Louis Philippe's reign the first step was taken in this direction. The nomenclature of the French debt, we may here mention, differs altogether from ours. Whereas we talk of a hundred or a thousand pounds of Consols, meaning so much capital standing to the credit of the holder in the books of the Bank of England, the French talk of three francs or thirty francs of Rentes, meaning so much interest payable by the State to the holder. In 1831, the amount of Rentes purchasable was reduced to two pounds sterling, and by successive later reductions it was finally brought down nine years ago to three francs, or a little under half-a-crown. The Three per Cents have been steadily rising in the market since the restoration of order; but even now the price of such an annuity is only about three guineas. Purchases, too, can be made in France without the employment of a broker, and even without the payment of a commission. The highest sum that a depositor can have in a Savings Bank at one time is forty pounds. When that is exceeded, if the depositor does not himself invest it, the Savings Banks authorities buy Rentes in his name, and credit the amount to him. They will also buy at the request of a depositor without charge. In the provinces the Receivers-General and their deputies purchase for the public. It will be seen that facilities of all kinds are given for investment, and the large loans which have been issued since the war have afforded opportunities, for all who desired to do so, to invest in a security as good as the credit of the country itself. The discredit into which foreign loans have fallen strongly induced the public to seize the opportunity, and accordingly we find that the French debt is now chiefly held at home. The Indemnity Loans, when first brought out, were principally taken by foreigners, for the small French investor was not at that time ready. His money was in Turkish, Egyptian, Italian, and Spanish bonds, in French and Austrian railways, and in miscellaneous stocks; and it occupied time to realize. Had, therefore, the Government depended upon him alone, the means of paying the indemnity within the specified time

would not have been forthcoming. The great capitalists of the world—banks, firms, and discount houses—subscribed; but they never intended to hold the loans. Their action was speculative, and it proved very profitable. The French investor at once began to draw in his money, and to buy into the home funds. France in this way undoubtedly escaped much of the losses that would else have fallen on her in consequence of Turkish, Peruvian, and other repudiations. And, moreover, the interest on the loans, instead of going out of the country like a kind of tribute, remains at home. It is, in fact, merely a transfer of so much money from the French taxpayers to a smaller number of Frenchmen who hold the bonds. This process has been going on up to the present time. Unfortunately it is not possible to determine the exact number of fundholders in France. In England it is easy enough. The Bank of England will not allow more than one account to be opened in its books by the same person in the same stock. No matter how many purchases of Consols, for example, he may make, they are all set down to the one account. The number of holders of each kind of stock is therefore ascertainable. But the Bank of France permits as many "inscriptions" as a fundholder chooses, and, in addition, there are the bonds payable to bearer. Any statement as to the number of individual holders is therefore a mere estimate. In 1874 there were 4,126,000 inscriptions, which are supposed to represent a million or a million and a half of persons. Even the lowest of these numbers shows that the Rentes are very widely held. Assuming it to be correct, it would show the average amount of Rentes held by each investor to be over 24/-, which proves that very small investments are not so common in France as might be expected.

Our own Government is often urged to follow the example of the French and American. At present an English working-man has no really safe investment open to him but the Post Office Savings Banks, if they can properly be called an investment. The smallest amount of Government stock he can buy is 50/-, and the shares and bonds of railways and other industrial undertakings are also too large for his means. If, then, he is not content with the Savings Bank, he has no choice but his club, his union, or a building society, none of which offer first-rate security. This is clearly a discouragement to thrift. If Consols in sufficiently small amounts were purchasable by him, it is possible that his competition might keep the price at a permanently higher level than that at which it now stands in ordinary years. At present the tendency is for Consols to fall as soon as business improves, and to rise when money becomes abundant and difficult of employment. The difference in price between such a year as 1873 and the current year is very considerable. Were the stock held more widely, the fluctuations would probably be moderated. But it would not be enough to split up Consols into smaller amounts; it would also be necessary to provide means of purchasing them other than those which now exist; and it has been suggested that this might be done through the Post Office—that hard-worked institution which nowadays seems to be set to do everything. Lastly, it has been urged that such a measure would enable the Government to put a stop to the loss at present incurred through the old Savings Banks. But this loss is a mere book loss, and against the imaginary advantage thus accruing is to be set the drawback that the reduction of the National Debt by means of terminable annuities must cease if the moneys now lodged in the Savings Banks were to be invested directly in Consols. There is no demand in the market for terminable annuities, and they are possible only because the National Debt Commissioners hold the Savings Banks' funds. If these were to be withdrawn, the terminable annuity scheme must fall to the ground; and were this to happen, the effect on the price of Consols would probably counterbalance the result of their being more widely held. The real arguments for the proposal are thus reduced to the desirableness of promoting thrift among the working classes. Perhaps it is sometimes too hastily assumed that the English working classes only need external encouragement to become thrifty; but that is no reason why any well-considered scheme of the kind should not be seriously entertained.

#### THE PICTURE GALLERIES.—No. I.

**P**ERHAPS the outcry usually raised before the opening of the Royal Academy, to the effect that it is going to be one of the worst exhibitions ever shown, has seldom been stronger than this year, and there has probably not often been less warrant for it. The general level of the exhibition is, it seems to us, decidedly higher than it was last year, although there is no work in it which is calculated to take the public with the surprise of unexpected excellence; and it may be added none of such rare genius and beauty as are found in Mr. Watts's "Orpheus and Eurydice" at the Grosvenor Gallery. But it is only fair to remember that Sir Coutts Lindsay's gallery has an immense superiority to the Royal Academy, in that it is devised with consummate skill for the exhibition of a limited number of pictures, each one of which is seen to advantage, and that very striking works may suffer considerably from being hung on overcrowded walls.

The first exhibition of modern paintings given at the Academy under the rule of the new President is, among other things, to be remarked for the amount of space, and good space, allotted to the productions of young painters; and, in giving the authorities

credit for this, it is again fair to remember that they are heavily handicapped by the rule which compels them to make room for the works of artists whose friends must, one would think, wish devoutly that they would either leave off painting, or keep the things which they paint for their own amusement. Another and less pleasant point to be noted is that, in contrast to the excellence found in the pictures of many rising artists, there is a decided falling off, which is, it is to be hoped, only temporary, in the works of at least two of our most distinguished painters. The temptation to produce more work than can be done really well in given time must no doubt be great, but it is a pity that it is not more often resisted. It is true that there are few people who can afford to take up art purely for art's sake, and that the people who can do so have not proved to demonstration that their work is superior to that of persons who do not disdain to make a business of it. It is time, however, to proceed to call attention to some of the pictures to be seen at the two great exhibitions, and we must be content for the present to do little more than this. It may here be observed that it is not likely that the authorities of the Academy think that satisfactory criticism can be made of their whole exhibition after one visit to it, although one might infer either this or that they have a sublime contempt for criticism, from the fact that their invitation to critics extends to one day only. Probably this is a somewhat heedless carrying on of an old tradition; but those with whom it rests would certainly do well to take example in this matter from the director of the Grosvenor Gallery.

Much notice will no doubt be attracted by Sir Frederick Leighton's large picture of "Elijah in the Wilderness," which was seen in the Paris Exhibition last year, and which now hangs in the third gallery of the Royal Academy. In the next room to this is Mr. Poynter's "Nausicaa and her Maidens playing at Ball," a work of which much, perhaps too much, was heard before it was exhibited. Another important figure picture is Mr. Pettie's "The Death Warrant" (22), which is hung in the third room. The work has many fine qualities, and much of the colouring is admirable; but it strikes us as being somewhat wanting in dramatic force and expression. One would hardly guess from looking at the face and figure of the young King that he was anything more than fatigued and slightly bored. Mr. Fildes's "The Return of a Penitent" (63), the subject of which is sufficiently indicated by the title and the quotation from Byron—"And every woe a tear may claim, Except an erring sister's shame"—is a picture full of strength and pathos. Mr. F. Dicksee's "Evangeline" (142) is excellent in composition, truth, and feeling. Mrs. Butler has two pictures, both, as might be expected, of a military kind—"Listed for the Connaught Rangers" (20), and "The Remnants of an Army, Jellalabad, January 13th, 1842" (58). The second of these is explained by a quotation from Mr. McCarthy's *History of Our Own Times*—"One man alone reached Jellalabad. Literally one man, Dr. Brydon, came to Jellalabad out of a moving host which had numbered in all some sixteen thousand when it set out on its march. The curious eye will search through history or fiction in vain for any picture more thrilling with the suggestion of an awful catastrophe than that of this solitary survivor, faint and reeling on his jaded horse, as he appeared under the walls of Jellalabad to bear the tidings of our Thermopylae of pain and shame." This incident Mrs. Butler has illustrated with a skill and force worthy of the subject. The landscape is inferior in merit, as in her other picture, to the figures; but the attention is naturally centred on the forms of the horse and its rider, which are imagined, drawn, and painted with remarkable power. Mr. Long exhibits, among other things, "Esther" (102) and "Vashti" (95), two works of much excellence, which, as they are companion pictures, are hung as far as possible apart from each other. Mr. Orchardson has a striking gambling scene, "Hard Hit!" (287), admirable in drawing and expression, but disfigured, to our thinking, by the peculiar colouring which he always affects. Mr. Bridgman has a fine picture called "A Royal Pastime in Nineveh" (441), of which we spoke when it was exhibited last year in the Salon.

We have already referred to the beauty and force of Mr. Watts's "Orpheus and Eurydice" (74) at the Grosvenor Gallery. "Paolo and Francesca" (73) hangs as a pendant to this. Of both we shall have more to say on a future occasion. Opposite to this hangs a very striking and original picture by Mr. W. B. Richmond, "Sarpdon" (22), with the quotation appended to its title in the Catalogue:—

To the soft arms of silent sleep and death,  
They to his friends the mournful charge shall bear.

This is a work which is certainly well worth studying, and which is perhaps the most remarkable effort of any of the younger painters to be seen either at the Grosvenor Gallery or the Royal Academy. Mr. R. B. Browning also exhibits here a striking picture called "The Unanswered Question" (52); but he has made his mark more completely with his picture of "A Stall in the Fish-market, Antwerp" (612), which he exhibits at the Royal Academy. This is a production of great truth and strength, in which the painting of still life is certain to be compared to that of Snyders, until the painter himself gets sick of hearing the comparison. Mr. Whistler exhibits at the Grosvenor Gallery some admirable etchings, and certain "arrangements," "nocturnes," and "harmonies," two of which he seems to have painted in a comparatively sober frame of mind, and one of which, a dancing figure, is ludicrously muddy and ugly. M. Tissot has eight pictures in his usual style—

paintings executed with wonderful skill of things which it certainly was not worth while to paint. Sir Coutts Lindsay exhibits a fine group called "A Knight and his Daughter" (150), and a figure of "Ariadne" (145), which seems to us somewhat less satisfactory. Mr. Burne-Jones has a picture of "The Annunciation" (166), which has undeniable force and beauty, and also undeniable oddity; and he also exhibits a series of four pictures of Pygmalion and his Statue, which will perhaps strike most people as being more characteristic of his style. Mr. Albert Moore shows near these a very beautiful picture of two girls, in the flowing drapery which he paints with so exquisite a feeling for line and colour, called "Topaz" (172), apparently because there is a solitary topaz in the necklace of one of them. Mr. P. R. Morris can, in view of the other works which he exhibits, afford well enough to make a comparative failure in his treatment of the by no means easy subject of "Death and the Woodman" (148). Mr. Weguelin, a painter of growing talent, has a picture of antique life called "The Tired Dancer" (45), painted with much grace and care.

Mr. Alma Tadema shows at both galleries works which display in a marked degree his extraordinary power in drawing and colouring, and his great patience and skill in research. It may be added that in one picture which he exhibits at the Grosvenor Gallery, he has conquered with great skill the difficulty of representing a person in the act of singing.

We have drawn attention to certain pictures, which may be broadly called pictures of invention, at both galleries; and we must reserve notice of landscapes, portraits, and what are called *genre* pictures, as well as detailed criticism of some of the works that we have mentioned, and of others of the same kind, for a future occasion. There is admirable work in various directions to be found both at the Royal Academy and at the Grosvenor Gallery. It is to be feared that there are still not a few people who, having been accustomed all their lives to regard the Royal Academy as the one great picture exhibition of the London season, are disposed to look with a jealous and resentful eye upon what they think the vain attempt at rivalry on the part of Sir Coutts Lindsay. For their information, we may add to this preliminary glance at the two galleries that the President of the Royal Academy has sent two works (3 and 4) to the Grosvenor Gallery.

#### THE TWO THOUSAND GUINEAS.

**I**T might be difficult to define the exact causes of the popularity of racing with the general public. Quite apart from its convenience as a medium of gambling, racing certainly offers attractions to people whom one might least expect to care about it. We own that we are at a loss to say why some of our quietest and most demure acquaintances take considerable interest in matters connected with the Turf. Whatever the causes may be which usually excite an interest in racing among the horseless and non-betting public, we suspect that they were conspicuously absent in the race for the Two Thousand Guineas of the current year. It would indeed have been difficult for a disinterested person to specify his reasons for paying any attention to the race. The best public performers of the two-year-olds of last year were not in it, nor were the two leading Derby favourites. Perhaps the most that could be said for the race was that it seemed to be a very open one, which is about equal to asserting that all the competitors were uniformly uninteresting. We suppose, however, that something might be said of even a dozen donkeys; and, as the deeds of the very worst racehorses are accurately chronicled in several racing guides, however commonplace the performances of a field of horses may have been, there are almost always reasons for preferring the chances of some of its members to those of others.

In the present instance the greatest favourite was *Discord*, a bay colt by *See Saw*. Now about the best that could be said of this animal was that he had improved since last year. Negative as such praise may at first sight appear, it bears considerable weight. Good judges of racing were of opinion that he had laid on muscle and grown into a fine colt. Some thought him a trifle slack across the loins, though it is but fair to say that this was not the general verdict; and all agreed that he galloped with great freedom. He had won the Craven Stakes during the late Newmarket Meeting with ridiculous ease, although he had not been opposed in that race by any horses of great merit. It is an axiom among racing men that the style in which a horse wins a race is almost as worth noting as the quality of the field which opposes him, and *Discord* had cantered in for the Craven Stakes in a manner which left nothing to be desired. Although the horses which ran against him were not first-class, he had given them a beating which allowed the supposition that he might be a very superior colt. Then, again, racing men are, with good reason, much disposed to favour a horse which has run well during the current season. It often happens that good two-year-olds lose their form at the age of three, while many backward two-year-olds develop unsuspected qualifications in the ensuing season. Everybody who has given attention to the breeding of any animals must have noticed that in a batch of young creatures those which first exhibit promising characteristics are often surpassed in a few months, or even weeks, by others which are less esteemed; and rearers of prize stock, of whatever kind, are constantly provoked by seeing young things which they

have either sold or given away turning out better than their precious pets which they had selected on the most scientific principles. Much on the same principle many a despised young racehorse develops into a three-year-old of high quality, while some of the smartest two-year-olds unaccountably lose their form as they grow older. One cannot therefore be surprised that betting men and racing prophets should give the preference to those horses which have been out and acquitted themselves creditably during the present season, when a race like the Two Thousand is the problem to be solved. *Rayon d'Or* had run extremely well on certain occasions; but he had been a very uncertain horse, and some of his performances were quite inexplicable. For instance, at Doncaster he had been beaten by *Charibert* in the Champagne Stakes, and the very next day he beat *Charibert* in a Sweepstakes. At one time *White Poppy* beat him by two lengths, and at another he beat *White Poppy* by many lengths. He had scarcely developed as much muscle as could have been wished since last season; and, although he has plenty of size, and strong, well-shaped limbs, he is rather angular and loosely made. Another horse which attracted some attention was a former victor of *Rayon d'Or*, named *Lancastrian*. This horse had had 7 lbs. the best of the weights, and had run second to *Monsieur Philippe*, while *Rayon d'Or* had run third. He is a wonderfully good-looking colt; but reports had been circulated that he had been temporarily unsound, and that he had been eased in his work at a critical period of his training, so his backers feared that he might scarcely be as fit as could be desired. *Strathern* had only won two out of nine races for which he started last year; but in one of those races he had beaten *Lansdown* and *Cadogan*, and in some of the others he had had heavy weights to carry. Yet his performances could not be called first-rate, and his diminutive size appeared to be against him; but he was believed to be so sound and so honest as to have a chance, considering the number of delicate or screwy horses which were to run against him. At one time last season *Ruperra*, then known as the *Lady Morgan* colt, seemed likely to be the best two-year-old of the year. In his first race he had beaten *Strathern* by three lengths, at even weights; and in the Newmarket July Stakes he had no difficulty in beating *Gunnersbury* and *Rayon d'Or*; but afterwards he ran very badly, and was nowhere for either the Rous Memorial Stakes or the Middle Park Plate. He was said to be a delicate horse, and it was rumoured that he had had a cough this spring, and that his training had been seriously interfered with in consequence. *Charibert*, the winner of the Champagne Stakes at Doncaster, was to have the advantage of the jockeyship of *Archer*; but he had run so execrably in the Craven Week this spring, when his backers had laid 7 to 1 upon him, that he was naturally distrusted. *Cadogan* had begun his career by winning the Woodcote Stakes at Epsom, in which he beat *Strathern* by four lengths; but he never won a race afterwards, although he ran four times, and it is probable that he was ailing during the greater part of the last racing season. Like *Strathern*, he is a small horse, and he has grown but little since last year; but then he had been a singularly muscular two-year-old. The American horse *Uncas* had a great reputation, and, with the victories of *Parole* fresh in their memories, people treated his chance with respect; but English racing men find that in the long run it answers better to trust to horses which they have seen perform well in good company on their own soil. Among the best-looking colts in the race was *Marshall Scott*. His enemies said that one of his fore feet was contracted at the heel, and that he showed symptoms of curb; but he had hitherto kept very sound, and he moved with great freedom. He is about sixteen hands high, and has great bone and power. Certain critics thought that his middle-piece was weak compared to his grand quarters, but some people are never quite satisfied. Last year his performances could not be called first-rate, but he was said to have won his trial. *Blue Blood*, who had been maligned as a roarer, had been unknown in public as a two-year-old, but he was a fine powerful horse—a little too heavy-looking, if anything—and he had many admirers. *Visconti*, by *Parmesan*, had been an indifferent two-year-old, but, for some reason with which we are unacquainted, he became one of the first half-dozen favourites a few days before the race. It was said that there was something wrong with *Gunnersbury*, a horse of whom great things had been expected as a two-year-old. He had never won a race, but he had run well on several occasions. It may have been observed that among the starters there were a good many invalids, and that of these invalids more than one seemed likely enough to have the race at his mercy if he happened to be perfectly well and in racing condition at the time; and as only two or three of the competitors had run in public before this season, it was most difficult to come to any definite conclusions before the race as to their respective chances. The common creed among those who make betting their amusement seems to be that one "must always back something," and, acting in accordance with this noble faith, a great many speculators invested upon this or that candidate, without having any very special reasons for so doing.

As is usual at Newmarket, several of the most interesting starters did not appear in the paddock, *Discord*, *Charibert*, *Ruperra*, and *Marshall Scott* being saddled elsewhere. Those who went down to the Ditch Stable reported the two first-named to be looking in excellent condition, and *Ruperra* to be fitter than had been expected after his late cough; but *Marshall Scott* was not considered quite trained. In the saddling paddock one could not feel surprised, on looking at *Strathern*, that many trainers should prefer saddling their horses elsewhere. The good-looking little bay was evidently much worried by the crowd of spectators,

and ambled sideways in an uncomfortable manner. A great contrast in disposition was the placid-looking Cadogan. This quiet beast seemed in perfect condition; and with his lean head, lengthy body, and great muscular quarters, looked the fittest of the party in the Birdcage. Some people thought him a trifle flat behind the saddle; but his great development of muscle on the hips probably makes this more apparent than a real defect. Lancastrian wore bandages, and scarcely looked fit. The little black Visconti was well shaped and wiry-looking, but he hardly had the appearance of a Two Thousand winner. The tall and gaunt Rayon d'Or was rather restless, and half inclined to kick, and he stretched his long neck about in an uneasy manner. The very handsome Blue Blood had more the appearance of a stud horse or a lady's pet than a racer in training, and his rather curly hocks were objected to.

At eight minutes past the appointed time the fifteen starters went away from the post, and galloped down the course in an even line. Bute was the first horse to make the running, and he did it with such a vengeance that his stable companion, Visconti, for whom he was performing this kind office, was soon completely outpaced. Want of condition speedily told upon Lancastrian, Marshall Scott, and Blue Blood at this rattling pace. When they had gone about half-way, Gunnersbury went up to Bute and took the lead from him. As they came near home, and the real struggle was on the point of beginning, the only horses which were going quite freely were Rayon d'Or, Charibert, and Cadogan; even the others, which were in the front rank, were evidently making their final effort. When Archer began to ride resolutely upon Charibert, he shot away from Rayon d'Or; but Cadogan came with a tremendous rush close to the rails, and both horses raced bravely up the hill. It is generally the case that, when it is a pretty near thing, Archer gets a little the best of it, and on this occasion he won the race with tolerable ease. We are far from saying that the race was won entirely by riding; but Cadogan showed great speed at the end, and faced the hill very courageously; and with a moderate jockey on his back we doubt whether Charibert would have won without a very severe struggle, if indeed he would have won at all. The victory of a man like Lord Falmouth, who never bets, is to our mind a matter of unqualified satisfaction, and fortunately we often have the pleasure of reporting his successes. Speaking of betting, we may observe that as much as 25 to 1 was laid against Charibert at the start for the Two Thousand.

says, "were temperate and delicate in their meals when they first invaded England; but I am sorry to be obliged to record that they soon contracted some very bad habits in this respect." As for the author's qualifications for writing upon the Norman Conquest, of which he treats at some length, it is enough to say that he seems to have no acquaintance with Mr. Freeman's work, and that he repeats the exploded stories of the Conqueror trying "to make all the people of this country talk French instead of English," and of his requiring "that the pleadings in all law proceedings, and also the laws themselves, should be made in the French language." As the writer's object was to illustrate "life and manners," he might with advantage have appended some explanation of the passage where he represents William as hunting in the park of Rouen, "surrounded by a noble train of knights, esquires, and *damesels*." The imagination at once conjures up a pleasing picture of William surrounded, like "Sir Joseph Porter, K.C.B.," by "his sisters and his cousins and his aunts." But the explanation, no doubt, is that Dr. Harris has literally translated Wace's

chevaliers  
E dameisels et esquires.

*Dameisel (domicellus)* signifies a noble page, not a damsel (*domicella*) in the modern sense. We might dwell further upon Dr. Harris's paper, but will content ourselves with quoting his concluding ethnological theory:—

Notwithstanding, therefore, the successive invasions of this nation by the Romans, Saxons, Danes, and Normans, the race is in all probability substantially the same as it was when Caesar landed here. The race, like the language, is of a mixed character—and great authorities tell us that pure races never effect any great achievements—but it is still, after all, the race of Britons by which this island continues to be peopled.

After this, we may leave Dr. Harris to the wrath of his fellow-member, Mr. Hyde Clarke, an uncompromising advocate of what we may term "the English and the English alone" theory. In spite, Mr. Clarke complains, of "the work of such men as Kemble, Sharon Turner, Palgrave, Freeman, and others," the history of the English is neglected:—

What we commonly have is a history of this island of Britain beginning with Welsh and Belgians, and setting forth the landing and wars of the Romans.

\* \* \* \* \*

Who were these English in their beginning? all would ask but ourselves, who have been careless of it.

At this point we feel inclined to protest that we are not quite so culpably ignorant or indifferent as our instructor seems to think, but we reflect that he has doubtless just come from hearing Dr. Harris's paper. He urges us to "set forth from that heartland and hearthland of our forefathers in Jutland"; but has not Mr. Green already set forth, if not from Jutland, at any rate from Sleswick? With a great deal of Mr. Clarke's argument we heartily agree; but his English sympathies so run away with him that he at last as good as accuses the poor Welsh of heathenism. At least this is the interpretation one would naturally put on the following sentence:—

An English lady was given as a wife to a Welsh king, as was done on the mainland when anything was to be got by it, but short of that English-women were not given to heathens, nor would Englishmen wed such so long as they could get English wives.

Truth compels us to remind Mr. Clarke that at the time of the English Conquest it was our own English forefathers who were heathens, and the Welsh who were Christians. The most remarkable part of Mr. Clarke's paper is his endeavour to trace the history of those Varini whom Tacitus names together with the Angli. These Varini he identifies with the Warings who have given their name to Warwick, Warrington, and other English towns, with the *Ovapoi* of Procopius, and the Warangians of Russia and Constantinople. His great point is that the original Warangians were not, as is commonly supposed, Scandinavians or Northmen, but of the English stock. We have not space to enter into his arguments; but we will mention one result of his theory, which ought to comfort all who dread the advance of the Muscovite. Students of Gibbon will remember that statue in the square of Taurus which, so "the vulgar of every rank" believed, "was secretly inscribed with a prophecy how the Russians, in the last days, should become masters of Constantinople." Now, argues Mr. Clarke, the Russians whom the unknown prophet had in his mind were Warings, and Warings are Englishmen. The modern Russian who claims the benefit of the prediction forgets "that the saying was of a time when the Russians were English and not Slavs." The name of Russian Mr. Clarke traces to that of the Rugii or Regini mentioned by Tacitus and Beda, whom he considers to have been nearly akin to the Warings, and therefore to the Angli.

Mr. Howorth contributes two papers—one "On the Early Intercourse of the Franks and Danes," in which he well brings out how the Danish hostility to Christianity arose from its presenting itself under the auspices of the Empire, "coming, in fact," as the writer not very happily expresses it, "as the pendant to the chains of subservience to the Frank throne." Mr. Howorth's second contribution deals with a kindred subject, "The Columban Clergy of North Britain, and their harrying by the Norsemen." In this he advances the opinion that the first descent of the Northmen upon the West-Saxon coast should be placed in the year 795, not 787, as in the English Chronicles. He contends, and we think with reason, that the wording of the entry in the Chronicles permits him to assign the appearance of the "three ships of

## REVIEWS.

### TRANSACTIONS OF THE ROYAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY.\*

THE seventh volume of the *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* contains the "inaugural address" of the new President, Lord Aberdare, and thirteen miscellaneous papers of very unequal merit. Lord Aberdare's address need not detain us long. The main business of a President of an Historical Society is to enlarge on the simple text that the study of history is an excellent thing, and that Historical Societies contribute to the study of history. The treatment of this theme he may vary according to the point of view from which he chooses to look at the study of history. Lord Aberdare, after paying pious tribute to the fame of his predecessors in the chair—Mr. Grote and the late Earl Russell—both of them historians and both politicians, proceeds by a natural transition to consider the value of history to the statesman:—

He [Lord Russell] believed none to be worthy of that designation, so often misapplied to the flitting politicians of the hour, who had not, by the insight acquired by reflection upon the past history of man and his nature, learnt to eliminate the accidental and the transitory from the essential abiding characteristics of the human race.

Lord Aberdare's own reflections, and his remarks upon the services rendered by the Historical Society, make up a scholarly and graceful, if not a particularly striking, address.

We have said that the papers printed in this volume are of unequal merit. That bearing the title of "Domestic Every-Day Life, and Manners and Customs in this Country," by Dr. Harris, is, to speak frankly, below the dignity of any Historical Society above the level of a Mechanics' Institute or of a Young Ladies' Mutual Improvement Association. From the members of a learned society one expects original research, or at least some fresh use of the old material. One does not go to an imposing-looking volume of Transactions simply for scraps and cuttings from *Baker's Chronicle*, the *Pictorial History*, the *Penny Cyclopædia*, and Mrs. Markham's *History of France*—recondite works which the author of this paper cites with much solemnity. It is true that he also draws largely upon "the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle," though he seems to regard it as hardly superior to Sir Richard Baker's work, which he vaguely styles "one of the chronicles of that time"; the time in question happening to be the reign of Henry I. Sir Richard Baker, we may remind our readers, was a compiler of the seventeenth century, and is known to fame as the historian studied by Sir Roger de Coverley. Dr. Harris's style is at times of an engaging simplicity. "The Normans," he

\* *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*. Edited by the Rev. Charles Rogers, LL.D., Historiographer to the Royal Historical Society; Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, &c. &c. Vol. VII. London: Printed for the Royal Historical Society. 1878.

Northmen" to any time within the limits of Beorhtric's reign. He looks upon the three vessels as stragglers from the fleet of "black pagans" from Denmark, which, according to the Juventian Chronicle, in 795 harried Glamorgan and was at last driven off with heavy loss by the Welsh. We wonder, by the by, that, in giving the dates of Beorhtric's reign, Mr. Howorth has not, in accordance with the opinion of our best historians, followed the Northumbrian chronology of Symeon of Durham, in preference to that of the English Chronicles, which from 752 to 849 is almost certainly wrong by two years.

Scotsmen will doubtless take an interest in Major-General Stewart Allan's laborious researches into the history of that puzzling personage, Margaret of Logy, second wife of King David Bruce. To Southron readers, who probably derive their chief acquaintance with this lady from passing and disrespectful mention of her in the *Fair Maid of Perth*—where, by the way, she is called *Catharine Logy*—it may be well to explain that she is interesting chiefly on account of her having for some time been considered "as the only Scottish queen whose filiation and family are unknown." The late Mr. Riddell succeeded in proving that she was not, as commonly stated, the daughter, but the widow, of one Sir John Logy; and the recently published *Liber Plascardensis*, edited by Mr. Felix Skene, now supplies the information that she was the daughter of Sir Malcolm of Drummond. Without entering into the Drummond genealogy, it will be enough to say that Margaret, whom the *Liber Plascardensis* styles *nobilis [et] pulcherrima domina*, was by no means of "sic obscure lineage" as represented by Bellenden and others. Though by all accounts beautiful, she was not young, being, according to the calculations here given, about forty when King David made her his wife. After more than five years he repudiated her, upon which Margaret appealed to the Papal Court, and finally obtained a reversal of the Scottish sentence of divorce. The *Liber Plascardensis* makes the curious and not very probable assertion that, if it had not been for her death, Edward III. of England would himself have taken her to wife. We should be inclined to think that this was a joke of the period, founded perhaps on the fact that Margaret in 1374 obtained a safe-conduct to remain in England for two years. There is also some appearance that the English Government, no doubt as a method of annoying Scotland, gave assistance to her in her long process at the Papal Court. General Allan does not suggest any way of reconciling the story of the *Liber Plascardensis*, which clearly represents Margaret as dying before King David, with the documents which he adduces to show that she survived him by at least some four or five years. We may add that his paper would have been much easier to understand if he had thrown his genealogical facts into the form of tables.

An honorary member, the Baron de Bogoushevsky, contributes a paper of considerable interest, entitled "The English in Muscovy during the sixteenth century." Of this the most curious part is that relating to the negotiations between Queen Elizabeth and the Czar John or Ivan the Terrible. The Czar tried hard to obtain Elizabeth's signature to a secret treaty binding her to co-operate with him in his wars, to which Elizabeth, whose only object was to promote commercial interests, was much too wise to commit herself. John expressed his vexation by annulling the privileges and seizing the property of the English Merchant Company, and by sending the Queen an upbraiding and arrogant letter, in which he makes it a complaint against the English Ambassador Randolph that "euer he speake about bowrishe [sic] and affaires of marchaundise and verie seldome would talke wi vs of our princelie affaires." Working himself up to a high pitch of wrath, the Czar continues:—

And wee had thought that you had been ruler over your lande and had sought honor to yourself and profit to your country, and therefore wee did pretend those weightie affaires betweene you and vs. But now we perceive that there be other men that doe rule, and not men but bawres and merchaunts the which seek not the wealth and honour of our maiesties, but they seake there owne profit of marchaundise.

Elizabeth answered this in genuine Tudor style:—"No merchants govern our country for us; but we rule it ourselves with the rule befitting a virgin queen appointed by God; and no sovereign has more obedient subjects, for which we render thanks to God." The Czar's letter is given in the contemporary English translation, the idiomatic vigour of which suggests the reflection that the art of translating State papers has declined among us since those days. But it would seem that the Baron has had access to the original, as in one place he corrects an error of the translator. In 1582 the Czar made renewed efforts to obtain the desired offensive and defensive alliance with England, and further proposed to take to himself an English wife, Lady Mary Hastings. The story that he contemplated a marriage with the Queen of England herself is rejected by the Baron.

We have not space to do more than mention Mr. Wratislaw's interesting paper on John of Jenstein, Archbishop of Prague, in which those curious in hagiology and mythology may learn how the pious romance of the martyrdom of St. John Nepomucen has been developed out of the real execution, or rather murder, of the General-Vicar, John of Pomuk. There remain six papers which we must leave untouched, with the exception of a quotation from Mr. Heywood's essay on the "Historical Progress of Free Thought," because it is of interest at the present time:—

In July, 1846, at a meeting in Manchester, Mr. Cobden ventured on the following prophecy with respect to the continuance of free trade in this country. "I maintain," he said, "that we never go back, after a question has been discussed and sifted as ours has been."

Mr. Heywood does not proceed to comment on the fact that, in spite of Mr. Cobden, commercial thought has of late begun, if not actually to go back, at any rate, after the manner of Lot's wife, to cast longing glances behind it towards the cities of Protection and Reciprocity.

#### ENGLAND AND RUSSIA IN CENTRAL ASIA.\*

THE success achieved by the *Life of the Atalik Ghazi of Kashgar* has emboldened Mr. Boulger to undertake a more comprehensive work. He has devoted three months' time and two volumes, containing seven hundred and fifty pages, to the supposed rivalry of England and Russia in Central Asia. Looking at the work as a whole, we can fairly say that what is practically an indictment against Russia is conducted on scientific, and not on haphazard, principles. The arrangement of chapters is praiseworthy. The sequence of topics is natural. The most recent additions to our geographical knowledge are brought to bear on the policy of which Mr. Boulger is an undisguised champion. A vast number of authorities, old and new, ephemeral and permanent, have been consulted, and there is more of ease and flow in the style than in his former work. We could wish that Mr. Boulger were something of an Oriental scholar; for, unless we do him injustice, all his knowledge of Eastern languages is secondhand; and now and then we come on a slipshod sentence or a colloquial phrase. Still we allow that, without having ridden to Khiva, or touched at Asterabad, or passed himself off as a Chinaman amongst the Turkomans, Mr. Boulger has brought together and arranged a goodly mass of materials, and that, whatever may be the result of his political prophecies, the literary merits of his work are unquestionable.

Some of the collateral questions raised and disposed of seem to us of more value, or at least are more likely to stand criticism, than the main purport of the book. The chapter on the changes of the Oxus, for instance, is full of interest. Major Wood, in his work on the Shores of Lake Aral, had familiarized us with the variations in the channel of this river, and had discussed the possibility of its return to the Caspian. It seems tolerably clear that the Arab and mediæval traditions which hold that the Amou Darya once discharged its waters into the larger inland sea are fully supported by the conclusions of physical science. But the question now is, not what old Greek geographers wrote and casual travellers gathered about the connexion of the Oxus with the Caspian, but whether there is any reasonable probability that a freak of nature, aided by unstinted expenditure and engineering knowledge, will give Russia a waterway from the eastern shore of the Caspian to the town of Khiva. Mr. Boulger has not much difficulty in convincing us that Russian exultation on this head is premature, and that very recent natural changes in the main channel of the Oxus, in the direction of the Caspian, have left a great deal to be supplied by art. To put the matter briefly, it seems that a large part of the Lake of Aibughir, at the southern extremity of Lake Aral, has dried up within the last twenty years, and is now dotted with the tents of the Yomut Turkomans. Very lately, owing to a dam constructed by these Yomuts in order to prevent the Oxus spreading to the west, its waters were found to escape back towards the east; and, more recently still, by some caprice, the details of which are only known to the Russians, the river had again resumed its former inclination to the west, and had even begun to flood the hopeless desert of Kara-Kum. But, as Mr. Boulger shows clearly, even allowing for this alteration, there is a great deal of ground to be got over before the Caspian can be reached. First, the Oxus must be brought in one continuous channel from Kunya Urgend to the lake Sari Kamish, which, broadly speaking, lies not quite half-way between the Aral and the Caspian. Then it must turn south, and get to a place called the Igdji Wells, and thence again to Balkan Bay, near the Russian station of Krasnovodsk on the Caspian. This extent of country covers about 550 miles. At present the only perceptible effect of the movement has been that certain depressions are filled with water; and to turn these flooded hollows into a continuous and permanent waterway is an undertaking compared to which the Suez Canal was a mere plaything. Mr. Boulger anticipates no difficulty on the score of labour, as Turkomans, Khivans, and Kara-kalpas would all be ready to dig the channel; but he sets down the expense at one million and a half of our money, and the time at two years. We should be inclined to treble both the one and the other. As a pleasant alternative to a bankrupt Government Mr. Boulger offers the Russians a railway which is to cost five or six millions. When we add to this that doubts are thrown on the sufficiency of the volume of water; that it is essential that there should not be a single flaw in the calculations of engineers; and that, after all, the Russians, while they are about it, may as well begin a new channel not at Kunya Urgend, but at Hazar Asp, in the latitude of Khiva, it is obvious that the most desperate alarmist may derive some consolation from the gigantic proportions of the task proposed to the Czar.

Not less instructive is the author's review of Russia's position in Turkestan with regard to revenue, expenditure, the progress of civilization, and military strength. The income, as any one might have anticipated, is small. The outgoings are enormous.

\* *England and Russia in Central Asia.*, By Demetrius Charles Boulger, Member of the Royal Asiatic Society, Author of the "Life of Yakub Beg of Kashgar." 2 vols. London: Allen & Co. 1879.

The cost of provisions and of transport is excessive. The sums spent on education are trivial, but something has been done for communication; complete toleration is extended to fanatical religionists; slavery is abolished, and tranquillity is maintained. The military forces are set down at forty thousand or fifty thousand men; but this is independent of a reserve from Cossack colonists and of contingents from Bokhara and Khiva; and the army of Orenburg, which is separate, is supposed to consist, on paper, of eighty thousand men. Independently of these divisions, Colonel Lomakine is at the head of a strong garrison on the eastern shores of the Caspian; and though it is now and then difficult to be certain whether Mr. Boulger's hate predominates over his contempt for Russia, he inclines to the opinion that, from one source or another, the Emperor or his lieutenants might set a compact force in marching order, occupy Merv, take Sarakhs and Mashad from Persia, and threaten Herat, while our statesmen were pottering in Council, and while Mr. Bright might still be occupied in proving to crowded assemblies that the Muscovite Government was the most amiable and peaceful in the world. We concur, so far, with Mr. Boulger as to think that nothing done or said in Central Asia should cause us to relax our attitude of watchfulness for a moment.

We think also that the author's antipathy to Russia has led him to take a too favourable estimate of the Turkomans. He is compelled to admit that the Tekkes are marauders born and bred, and that they skilfully train their horses to make long marches on the least allowance of water, and on barley and maize mixed with the raw fat of a sheep's tail, in order that they may plunder the villages of Khorassan and strike terror into the suburbs of Mashad. But then this land pirate is affectionate and merciful to his own beasts; he would make a capital trooper of irregular horse; he pays deference to his Aksakal or chief; and he even condescends, in the intervals of serious business, to till the ground and to ply the silk-loom. Italian bandits, we know, have occasionally treated Englishmen with civility; but in spite of his powers of endurance and the civility shown to Captain Butler on his travels, we must hold the Turkoman to be worse than a wolf or a tiger, and the Russian Government to be entitled to the thanks of nations for having to a certain extent reduced the slave marts of the Khanates. We also are satisfied that Mr. Boulger attributes too much importance to the resources and ability of Persia as an element of the Eastern question. Colonel Macgregor's opportunities of observation, which were not slight, led him to a different conclusion. Mr. Boulger apparently believes in the recuperative power of the Shah. He talks of Persia as a "tempting prize"; believes that its "regeneration should be made the cardinal point of our Central Asian policy," and even placidly contemplates that kingdom as "strong and rejuvenated." Doubtless Persia, from the sheer force of a geographical situation which touches the Indian Ocean on one side and the Caspian on the other, can never be wholly left out of consideration in a collision of interests or an adjustment of power. And many travellers agree in thinking that the ordinary Persian soldier might be improved by regular pay, sound discipline, and judicious control. But with its declining agriculture, its salt deserts, its hideous ranges of barren hills, its deficient rainfall, and its general squallor and decrepitude, Persia is more likely to be a drag on its allies and a burden to its protectors for some generations to come.

When we turn to our own side of the controversy, Mr. Boulger's chapters labour under what we must define as a want of appreciation of the relative importance of facts and figures, though we cannot put our hand on any gross error. It was once said by an eminent Indian judge that the decisions of the Privy Council were generally so admirable in tone, judicial balance, and correct application of legal principles, that it mattered very little whether its members really understood the meaning of the jungly under-tentures they were upholding, or the strange precedents and rules of caste which they had to interpret. But the same cannot be said as to the delivery of political judgments. Here it is of the last importance that the writer should form a precise estimate of the significance of every fact which he marshals, and of every piece of evidence he adduces in support of his particular theory. For instance, Mr. Boulger need hardly have condescended to quote from a native paper stuffed with the fustian of Bengali place-hunters, or the complaints of discontented undergraduates of the Calcutta University, who are very angry on discovering that their degree of B.A. does not dispense with the necessity of working for a livelihood. But the following passage is the most amusing instance of the ease with which literary men who have never known the burden of political responsibility are ready to solve the most difficult problems of statesmanship:

The only way to make India safe is to pass an edict that there shall be no armed force beyond a few hundred personal attendants to the greater chiefs, except the Anglo-Indian army; that all arms must be handed over to the Government, for which a certain price will be allowed; and that all cannon foundries and arm factories are to be destroyed. These sweeping measures can be carried out to-morrow with little difficulty; in a short time the task will be more difficult, and later on it may be impossible. In the event of any State resisting, it should be annexed.

It does not seem to have even occurred to Mr. Boulger that there are such things as solemn treaties made at different times with Indian princes, in which the rights and obligations of each ruler are carefully defined, and that hitherto our ascendancy has been thought by most statesmen to rest just as much on good faith and the observance of stipulations as on physical force. Of the political effect of such an announcement as he suggests on the minds of natives of all ranks the author does not seem to have formed the

faintest conception. Indeed there is an audacity in his naked proposal which almost rises to the sublime. It is perhaps fortunate that some of the native princes are beginning to understand how it is that the Indian Government is not committed to action by the startling theories of independent writers, or we might feel uneasiness at the amazement which they would cause amongst credulous audiences at Hyderabad and Indore. In another passage Mr. Boulger calmly talks of certain unpleasant, but unavoidable, precautions, of which "the very first would be the destruction of the native States and their incorporation with our own territory." He is, however, candid enough to admit that this step would be but "scurvy treatment" of faithful allies.

Another instance of superlative self-possession is to be found in the chapter where Mr. Boulger settles for ever the scientific frontier. We shall not imitate him and say where this very desirable terminus is to be found; but those who read these volumes, and we trust they may be read by many, ought to remember certain preliminary considerations. It is perfectly certain that, whilst the majority of educated men hold that Russian advances in Central Asia must be met and checked, there exists a wide divergence as to the means of accomplishing this end; and that, after a campaign marked by a series of successful advances and no real check or disaster, a wider difference prevails as to ultimate political rearrangements. To say nothing of the irreconcileable opinions of ex-Viceroy and Secretaries of State, able military men are divided into two opposite camps. To get at the back of the north wind might be an easier task than to know what tracts or cities are to be taken or left. Difficulties—ethnological, strategical, and financial—are just making themselves felt. Mr. Boulger, however, has no hesitation in settling our future frontier off-hand. He would at once depose British agents—by which he may, or may not, mean English political officers—to Herat, Balkh, Maimene, and Faizabad. He would have an English representative at Cabul. Herat is to be "fortified and garrisoned by a special auxiliary force of five thousand men, trained, disciplined, and partly paid by the Indian Government." Hostile and offending tribes are to be disarmed, and roads made through their country. Candahar must be retained as a strong fortress, as well as Quetta; and the Khurum, Khyber, and Gomul Passes are to be held by fortified posts. The Khan of Khelat, for his fidelity, is to be rewarded by the transfer of the Pisheen Valley. Eventually, at some distant time, we may also require to have fortified posts at Balkh, Andkhoi, and other places, and even at Sarakhs, between Mashad and Merv. This frontier, we are told, is no ideal one, but thoroughly practical, and in "accordance with geographical formation." How it is to be reconciled with financial exigencies and administrative control, we are not told; nor are the difficulties of climate, communication, relief of native and English regiments, and other slight obstacles, taken into the smallest account. We are not going to follow the author in his apportionment of praise and blame among the various statesmen who have presided over Indian affairs. But we are sorry to see that he repeats the error by which Lord Lawrence had been unfairly made responsible for the delay in acknowledging Shere Ali as successor to his father, Dost Mahomed, in 1863. At Vol. II., pages 261, 263, and 266, Mr. Boulger writes of Lord Lawrence as if this statesman had been in India and "Governor of the Punjab" under Lord Elgin, and he concludes that the policy of waiting is due to him alone, adding, that when Dost Mahomed died, it was "to Sir John Lawrence that the Indian Government and Lord Elgin turned for guidance." In a writer who distributes both oil and vinegar all round in no stinted measure, this blunder is quite inexcusable. Lord Lawrence came away from India in 1859. In 1863 he was employed, not at Lahore as "Governor" or even as "Lieutenant-Governor," but at Westminster as one of the Indian Council. He left England to succeed to the Viceroyalty, after the death of Lord Elgin, in the December of that year, and he only assumed the viceroyal office at Calcutta on the 12th of January, 1864. Dates are quite as important in a controversy of this kind as the heights of mountains or the practicability of passes.

The truth is that Mr. Boulger has, like several other writers, attempted to play two different parts, those of the historian and the political pamphleteer. His literary power is not inconsiderable, and his diligence, method of inquiry, and selection of materials, as we have said, are worthy of praise. In the crowd of recent competitors for the ear of the public on Central Asian matters he is fairly entitled to take a high rank. His remarks on the composition of the native army of India ought to command attention from military men; and on minute points of geography he appears to have spared no exertions to attain complete accuracy, and to bring down the results of explorations, pursued under trying circumstances, to the very latest date. The very vehemence of his political convictions ought to insure him readers; and if we have selected passages which exhibit him in the light of an enthusiast, it is from no wish to detract from the timely importance of his publication. But we are bound to say that, while his volumes cannot be expected to excite the interest in personal risk, daring, and adventure which characterizes the tours of Captain Burnaby, Mr. McGahan, Captain Marsh, and Colonel Macgregor, they lack, on the other hand, that grave and weighty judgment of men and measures which we have a right to expect in one who has to write without the prestige of official authority, and who can only convince his readers by dispassionate statements and force of argument.

## ROBERTS'S EDITION OF MORE'S UTOPIA.\*

WE lately had occasion to speak of Mr. Roberts and his fondness for sumptuous reprints of old English authors. The present volume is altogether more important than the Brathwaite which we were then reviewing, and, in fact, may be called the masterpiece of its printer. In a pleasantly written little preface Mr. Roberts describes how the suggestion of this particular book was due to the late Basil Montagu Pickering, in one of "the many conversations about books and literature" which the two votaries of fine printing had "in the large room at the back of Pickering's shop, after the business of the day was over." "Either quite plain, or only ornament of the best kind," said Pickering, as his advice to the younger printer; and accordingly the ornaments are the truly remarkable feature of the volume. They are most carefully executed reproductions of the head-pieces and borders of those French Books of Hours with which, soon after the invention of printing, the Parisian printers, especially Pigouchet, Kerver, and Simon Vostre, used to delight their patrons; books that are now so much sought after as to be quite out of the reach of the ordinary collector, though Mr. Roberts owns to the possession of some of them. The reproductions are so good that it is to be regretted that they are not catalogued with reference to their sources; a mere general reference to "Books of Hours" does not satisfy the curious, and is hardly just to the memory of the old printers and their engravers, between whom, no doubt, fine distinctions are to be detected. But this slight imperfection is probably accounted for by the "many disadvantages" under which the preface says the book has been produced. We are sorry to hear of these, and still more to learn that with this volume Mr. Roberts's career as a printer is to close. We in England can ill afford to lose one of the very few men who have really made an effort to treat printing as a fine art, and to prevent it from falling too far behind the beautiful achievements of Claeys, Jouast, Motteoz, and the other printers who have lately been doing such wonders in Paris. Do what we will, we can seldom attain to the perfection of the French in this department; but Mr. Roberts at his best is not far behind them. If he is really set upon retirement, let us at least hope that some one will arise *ex osibus ultor* to do the work which ill-health and other obstacles have forced him to abandon.

Mr. Roberts's original intention was merely to reprint the edition published by Dibdin in 1808; but he soon found that in point of correctness that slovenly and overrated bibliophile was not to be trusted, and so "read the text carefully with the first edition, printed by Vele in 1551." But Dibdin's notes are preserved—with "additions and corrections," it is true. Still there they are, with their masses of irrelevant matter, the outpourings of a miscellaneous and (it must be owned) frivolous mind. We cannot help thinking that this was a mistake. Dibdin's work is wholly out of date; and indeed it could not have been called good, judged by the standard of his own day. What he could do well was to write a lively, gossipy catalogue raisonné, such as the "Bibliotheca Spenceriana"; or a diary of a literary man's rambles, such as the "Bibliographical Tour." But he was in no sense a scholar, and understood none of the higher duties of an editor. He even modernizes the spelling of Ralph Robinson's translation in his reprint; and in this we are sorry to see Mr. Roberts allows him to have his way. His bibliographical introduction is good, though not perfect; so, now that they have been revised, are his selections from More's English works, printed as an appendix. But the notes to the *Utopia* itself are not notes at all; they are mere gossip—amusing enough, of course, but quite valueless to students of More and of the New Learning, of which, as Mr. Green has so abundantly and eloquently shown, the *Utopia* is the typical book. There was indeed room for an edition done in a really scholarly way—done, for instance, as Mr. Pattison would have done it—with a thorough knowledge of the Renaissance in all its developments, of Erasmus and Giles, of Colet and Warham, of "Aldus his print," and Vespucci, whose travels "are in every man's hands." As it is, we cannot help regarding the book, so far as it is Dibdin's, as scarcely worthy of the care and taste which Mr. Roberts has spent upon it. For students there is no denying that the little reprint of Mr. Arber—to which, strange to say, Mr. Roberts seems to make no reference—is decidedly the more valuable book of the two. Of the 472 pages of Mr. Roberts's volume, 144 are occupied with the biographical and bibliographical introduction, 90 with the supplemental notes, while of the pages nominally given to the text a great proportion, perhaps a third, is devoted to foot-notes. On the other hand, the text itself is such as to perplex the reader. In his remarks on the various editions Dibdin thus criticizes that printed by Alsop in 1639:—

This edition, "exactly done with applause," as Alsop styles it, is, in truth, one of the most careless and erroneous extant. It has everything of Robinson's translation but its accuracy; and why it is so coveted by collectors is absolutely inexplicable. The type, paper, and text are equally wretched. The preceding *quarto* edition ought not to escape from the greater part of this censure. Alsop's editions of the *Utopia* are "omnium iniquitatisimis!"

\* *Utopia*. Written in Latine by Syr Thomas More, Knighth, and translated into Englyshe by Raph Robynson: Anno m.cccc.li. With copious Notes and a Biographical and Literary Introduction by the Rev. T. F. Dibdin, F.S.A. Printed from Sir H. Ellis's copy, with additional Notes and Corrections. Boston, Lincolnshire: Robert Roberts. 1878.

We were scarcely prepared after this to read the following statement, which concludes Dibdin's own introduction:—

It may be proper here to observe, that the text of the *present* edition of the *Utopia* is, *in fact*, printed from Alsop's edition of 1639; as being the most convenient ancient edition for the compositor to execute. But Alsop's text differs so rarely from Robinson's that both may be thought *one and the same*. Where, however, deviations do occur, they have been noticed below. This is mentioned to prevent any doubt or surprise, which otherwise might have been excited, by seeing the edition of 1551, referred to in the notes, quoted as a different text from that which the reader is perusing.

We then turn to Mr. Roberts's own preface, and find:—

I began to print literature from Dibdin, but soon discovered that his text was so carelessly done that it was not safe to follow. After cancelling two or three sheets I started afresh, and read the text carefully with the first edition, printed by Vele in 1551, and I hope this edition will be found all the better for it.

"Better for it" the edition certainly is; but would it not have been better still, we might ask, if Dibdin's text had been entirely thrown overboard, and if Mr. Roberts, who has a higher idea of the compositor's powers than Dibdin had, had gone straight to the text of 1551 and 1556? Dibdin's introduction and notes might have been preserved, but about the text we should have been more certain than we are.

It is hardly worth while to go through Dibdin's notes and introduction critically; and indeed they are too miscellaneous to make their verification an easy task. We may, however, notice one or two points to which either Mr. Roberts's corrections do not apply or which have escaped him. A crowning instance of Dibdin's irrelevancy occurs in his account of the portraits of More, where, before beginning his catalogue, he says, "It was not the good fortune of More to have his portrait engraved by either of his contemporaries, Albert Dürer, Marc Antonio, or Aldegrever." The remark is to the point, but the writer is not content without a long note on the merits of these engravers who did not engrave Sir Thomas More, and a note to that note, giving a French account of the *Melanctolia*, "of which I," says Dibdin, "have a beautiful impression." In bibliography proper he is better, and keeps closer to the point; but even here, if completeness was desirable, many additions and corrections might have been made. There is no reference to the *second* impression of the Latin work, that which Gilles de Gourmont printed at Paris before March 1518; an interesting little edition mentioned by Mr. Arber, and therefore, we should have imagined, known to the present editor. Again, no attempt has been made to supplement Dibdin in his account of the later Latin editions. The very handy edition printed by Barbon in his series (Paris, 1777), and edited with an excellent bibliographical introduction by A. G. M. Q. (Querlon), is not noticed. This omission is all the more strange because Dibdin has just before stated that the Foulis edition of 1750 is "the only one that the French bibliographers have noticed." Again, the account of the French versions is imperfect; that of Barthélémy Aneau (Lyons, 1559) not being mentioned, and Sorbière's new translation being only referred to at second-hand in a note of Sir H. Ellis, and there wrongly dated. As to Dibdin's knowledge of the classical languages, which is surely not to be dispensed with by an editor of Sir Thomas More, it is sufficient to say that he evidently never read the *Utopia* in the original Latin, and that his Greek is to be tested by his note on the name of More's imaginary story-teller, Raphael Hythlodae—a very good bit of Greek word-coining, and very appropriate to Raphael's business:—

The names of More's characters, and especially of the present one, seem to be rather whimsically chosen.

But, when all is said, we cannot forget that anything which makes the *Utopia* more accessible and more likely to be read deserves our gratitude. More is one of those men the interest of whose lives and characters has overshadowed the interest of their books; and while "every schoolboy" knows the pathetic story of his disgrace and death, scarcely any one reads any of his works, or read them till the other day, when Mr. Arber reprinted this romance, and Mr. Green, in the *Short History*, pointed out its value. And yet Hallam was quite right when he called it "a book of genius," compounded as it is of all the best influences which formed More and his friends—Plato for its leading idea, the new discoveries for its *quasi-actual* framework, and for its spirit the large humanist temper of Erasmus and his circle proclaiming equality and universal education, social reform, and toleration of all religions. If More derived from Plato the central and truly Utopian condition of his commonwealth—the abolition of private property—he did it with a clear eye to the general good, and with more consideration for human weakness than Plato, with his Dorizing tendencies, cared to show. Indeed the wonder of the *Utopia* is this very *human* element which is always present in it; an element that makes More's commonwealth the very antipodes of Plato's—far more detailed and far less remote from the ordinary needs of men. Plato, from the nature of the case, eschews details, but gives us in their stead great abundance of principles. More is content with two or three ruling principles, and for the rest abounds in details that are both full of light for the understanding of his own time and full of instruction for ours. To take away all motive of selfish greed by the abolition of private property, to set the things of the mind above the things of the senses—these are the two corner-stones of the Commonwealth. But, over and above these, what copiousness of wisdom in the treatment of the separate departments of life! What a grasp of the whole conditions of private and public happiness! Religion, education, labour, punishment, service, marriage,

the treatment of the sick, the disposal of the dead, warfare, social life, amusements—everything is touched upon; for all the problems of his day, and indeed for most of those of ours, More has a solution ready. With many of his answers we might disagree, and it would be easy, for instance, to show that his economical position is an antiquated one; but in general his utterances are not Utopian at all, but those of a rational and modern morality. For example:—

For they be much inclined to this opinion; to think no kind of pleasure forbidden whereof cometh no harm.

The chief and almost the only office of the Sypograuntes [magistrates] is, to see and take heed that no man sit idle; but that every one apply his own craft with earnest diligence. And yet for all that, not to be wearied from early in the morning to late in the evening with continual work, like labouring and toiling beasts.

If he [the preacher of a new faith] could not by fair and gentle speech induce them unto his opinion, yet he should use no kind of violence, and refrain from unpleasant and seditious words.

They he persuaded that it is in no man's power to believe what he lists.

They have priests of exceeding holiness, and therefore very few.

What greater pleasure is there to be felt when a dog followeth an hare, than when a dog followeth a dog? For one thing is done in both, that is to say running, if thou hast pleasure therein. But if the hope of slaughter, and the expectation of tearing in pieces the beast, doth please thee, thou shouldest rather be moved with pity to see a silly innocent hare murdered of a dog; the weak of the stronger; the fearful of the fierce; the innocent of the cruel and unmerciful. Therefore all this exercise of hunting, as a thing unworthy to be used of freemen, the Utopians have rejected to their butchers.

The difficulty is to find a sentence that is not striking, so rich is More's mind, so vivid both his own Latin style and the English of his Elizabethan translator. But now that Mr. Roberts has given every one a fresh opportunity of reading the whole book, we may with the less unwillingness abridge our quotations. Had Mr. Pickering lived, we would have suggested to him an adaptation of the words with which Erasmus commanded the *Utopia* to the hands of Froben, the famous printer of Basle:—

*Proinde misimus ad te . . . Utopiam, ut (si videtur) tuis excusa typis orbi posteritatiique commendetur; quando ea est tua officinae auctoritas ut liber vel hoc nomine placeat eruditis, si cognitum sit e Robertianis [Erasmus said "Frobenianis"] adibus prodisse.*

#### DAISY MILLER; AND THE LAUGHING MILL.\*

MR. OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES says somewhere that America offers the largest market in the world for intellectual green fruit. This is true, and shows itself in more ways than one. Not only are young writers unwilling to wait till they have something to say, or till they have found out that they have nothing to say, but men of real power and merit are freed from the wholesome restraint of knowing that they are addressing a public which can distinguish their best from their second best. It is probable that Mr. Holmes's remark has less force now than when it was made a few years ago. And certainly, if anybody were disposed to find fault with Mr. James's work, it would not be on the score of immaturity or want of finish. It would rather be for a sort of instinctive unwillingness—the result very often of the critical faculties being highly cultivated—to have much to do with the elementary feelings of human nature. Mr. James is a remarkable observer of all that can be seen with the eyes or heard with the ears. The appearance, the costume, the tones and inflections of voice, the movements, the gestures, the little tricks of speech and manner of his characters are reproduced with a microscopic accuracy. The details all the while are never overdone. Only what is characteristic is selected; and, so far as the outward man and woman are concerned, or those parts of their characters which may be called the external parts, one knows them as well as one knows a personal friend. But further than this Mr. James declines to go. What sort of people they all are at bottom he refuses to tell us. He devises a situation with great skill. He interests us in all his actors. A number of incidents, selected in the most judicious manner in the world, lead up to a final crisis admirably adapted for a complete revelation of character. But at the last moment, when our curiosity is on tiptoe, when we are fidgeting to see what the next page will tell us, when all is arranged for a *dénouement*, as necessary for the completion of the plot as for the development of the characters, they either stand still and do nothing at all, or else they do something purely capricious and unaccountable. In a novelist of less ability we should take what we can get, and be thankful for it. But one is forced to regret this inequality in the work of a writer in many respects so admirable and accomplished as Mr. James.

*Daisy Miller* is just the sort of tale which shows Mr. James's writing at its best. The scene is laid first on the Lake of Geneva, and afterwards in Rome among the nondescript society which peoples the hotels of the former and the Anglo-Italian or Americo-Italian drawing-rooms of the latter. Daisy Miller is a girl from the State of New York, who imagines that all which is permissible for a young lady on that side of the Atlantic is equally in accordance with the manners and customs of Continental Europe, or, if not, that there is no reason why she should not act as if it were. She is a good and pure girl from beginning to end of the

story; but by her cheerful, free-and-easy disregard of all social conventions makes people first stare at her, then shake their heads significantly, and finally cut her dead. It is only towards the end of the story that she seems herself to have any clear notion of the damage she is doing to her reputation. She first appears in the garden of one of the hotels at Vevey, where Winterbourne, a young American, said by his friends to be "studying" at Geneva, and by those who were not his friends to be attending on a foreign lady who resided there, is resting for a season from his labours. An intimacy springs up between Winterbourne and Daisy Miller with a rapidity which scandalizes the aunt of the former, who is a lady of position both in her own country and in Europe. Daisy, it must be said, is not an everyday type of the American girl; but most people who have known a fair number of Americans will be able to recall one or two to whom she bears a strong likeness. Good girl as she is, and with many of the qualities of a lady, there is certainly something underbred in her ready familiarity, and something blunt in the perceptions which do not tell her how her conduct will be looked on by the world. She is, in plain words, common, but still interesting and almost charming. (The ease and self-possession with which she violates the social code of Europe, whenever it suits her whim to do so, is thrown into stronger relief by contrast with a characterless and wholly imbecile mother, "a small, spare, light person, with a wandering eye, a very exiguous nose, and a large forehead decorated with a certain amount of thin, much-frizzled hair." The presence of a chaperon like this, whose parental guardianship never goes beyond a feeble, half-apologetic remonstrance, just enough to irritate, but utterly useless to check, naturally makes Daisy all the more wilful and headstrong.) When Winterbourne meets her in the following winter at Rome, he finds her provided with anything but an enviable renown. She is on terms of great friendship with several Italian gentlemen, not of the choicest sort, particularly with one Giovanelli, with whom she walks, drives, sings, goes to parties, makes calls, and presents herself in the afternoon on the Pincio before the assembled society of Rome. (The mixed and dubious world which is all that most English and American travellers see in Rome, if they see anything of society at all, is sketched briefly, but with admirable truth.) Daisy finds it as easy to get male assistance in setting the conveniences at defiance as a handsome young lady might be expected to do. (It is she, unfortunately, who has to pay all the penalty. Throughout her follies, which she advertises to all the world with a curious naïveté and audacity, and to the last without fully understanding what they are taken to mean, she does not lose her hold of the reader's sympathy, interest, and pity.) Considering the interest which Mr. Winterbourne feels in her, and the terms of intimacy on which they stand, he might fairly be expected to do a little more to open the girl's eyes. Something he does do—but feebly, and in vain. This is indeed just an instance of Mr. James's practice in those of his tales which we have read—shall it be added, that it is his method?—to leave the reader in doubt as to the real nature and purpose of his characters. What Winterbourne's genuine feeling for Daisy is, or Daisy's for either Winterbourne or Giovanelli, and why they all keep standing on the brink of doing something decisive and never do it, it is impossible to say. The situation is too good a one to be left without a solution, nor is the crisis grave enough to require that Daisy should be put to death and the solution thus evaded. Yet this is what happens. She goes one evening all alone with Giovanelli (whom Winterbourne, by the way, treats all through with exemplary forbearance, not to say politeness) to see the Colosseum by moonlight, and there catches a fever, of which she dies. Winterbourne returns to Geneva—to "study," as his friends say—to resume attendance on the foreign lady, as is averred by others.

The other stories in this book—"An International Episode," and "Four Meetings"—show the same accurate and minute observation, the same power of telling a tale pleasantly and readably, and the same adroitness in keeping the reader's curiosity alive to the last moment. But, like the first story, they balk one at the critical instant. Everything goes on charmingly till the moment arrives for decision and action—the moment when the veil is lifted, and people are forced to show what they are and what they are good for. And just then the characters which have been admirably lifelike hitherto suddenly become shadowy and unreal. Even when the step they take is intelligible, the feelings which prompt them to it remain in the dark. No doubt great difficulties are avoided by this ignoring of all deeper psychological analysis, but great opportunities are also lost by it. Still, notwithstanding this defect, Mr. James's stories have great and unusual merit. They have, above all, the great and unusual merit of being readable a second and third time.

The labour of criticizing Mr. Julian Hawthorne's *Laughing Mill, and other Stories* is lightened by the fact that the author is considerate enough to point out in the preface their characteristic merits, as well as the principles on which the reviewer is bound to proceed. It is true that we are not able fully to agree with everything that the preface says. Mr. Hawthorne is anxious to justify the introduction of ghosts and other supernatural machinery into tales of modern life:—

Such works [he says] as *The Tempest*, *Faust*, and *Consuelo* show their authors at their best, because, being obliged by the subject to soar above the limits of vulgar possibility, the writers catch a gleam of transcendent sunlight on their wings. And he who would mirror in his works the whole of man must needs include the impossible along with the rest. Whoever has lived thoughtfully feels that there is something in his experience beyond what appears in *Tom Jones*, *Adam Bede*, and *Vanity Fair*. They are earth without sky . . . . A reader with a healthy sense of justice

\* *Daisy Miller; and other Stories.* By Henry James, jun. London: Macmillan & Co. 1879.

*The Laughing Mill; and other Stories.* By Julian Hawthorne. London: Macmillan & Co. 1879.

feels that an occasional excursion mysteryward is no more than he has a right to demand. And such excursions are wholesome for literature no less than for him.

For these ends, says Mr. Hawthorne, it is necessary that "human interest" should be sacrificed, and no such interest is accordingly to be looked for in this book. Now there seems here to be a slight confusion of thought. To take the case of *Faust*, what justifies the supernatural element in it is not that this makes the writer, or the reader, or anybody else, "soar above the level of vulgar possibility," or do anything else of the sort, but simply that it enables Goethe to set forth the "human interest" on a wider scale. *Faust*, who has passed his life with his books and thoughts, and who has not attained by means of them to any certainty or any happiness, longs, like thousands of others, to exchange his "grey theories" for the fruits of "the golden tree of life." Supernatural aid enables him to do this fully and completely. *Faust's* perplexities, his oscillation between spiritual and sensual desire, his loathing, even while he follows him, for the Fiend who leads him into the mire, are "human" enough in all conscience. They are part of the experience of mankind in all historical time, and most of all in a critical and highly cultivated age like the present. It is because the league between *Faust* and Mephistopheles has all this mass of "human interest" behind it that nobody finds fault with the poem because of it. The mere bits of magic in *Faust*, such as the incident of the poodle, are fantastic, and could very well be spared. And the same may be said of the supernatural framework of the *Dante Comedy*, which Mr. Hawthorne brings forward in support of his own way of writing. It is justifiable, not because it is marvellous or "impossible," but because it forms an admirable setting for great characters, emotions, and beliefs. And as to the "earth without sky" of the modern novels quoted by Mr. Hawthorne, the seeker after an "unfathomed mystery" will find as much of it in the lifelong retribution which in *Adam Bede* follows on a youthful error, and which involves guiltless friends almost as much as the culprits themselves, as he will find in Mr. Hawthorne's seventeenth-century ghost who rises from his grave to scare a young lady of the present time because she wears a charmed locket, and dances gibbering before her all along Park Lane and Piccadilly.

The scene of the *"Laughing Mill"* is laid on the coast of North America, where dwells an old sailor named Poyntz. He has a "voice as deep and mellow as a sea-lion's," from which we may be permitted to infer that the animals in question are no relations of the brutes of that name who snort and bellow at the Brighton Aquarium. A young man named Firemount, *alias* Feuerberg, is spending his holidays in the old man's seaside cottage. The heroine, Agatha, is a girl of Danish extraction, who passes as Poyntz's daughter, but who proves at the end to be the illegitimate child of a girl washed ashore from a wreck some years earlier. The chief part of the story is taken up with a narrative of the fate of this unhappy waif, Agatha's mother. The narrative is not savoury. The poor girl is loved, but vainly, by one "Scholar Gloam," the last legitimate member of a decayed family in the neighbourhood, and betrayed and deserted by his illegitimate half-brother David. Both the girl and her seducer perish by the contrivance of the rejected lover, who saws through the wooden bridge over the "Laughing Mill," on which the returning David is awaited by her. This story, begun in the cottage by Poyntz, is finished near the "Laughing Mill" by Scholar Gloam, whether in the body or out of the body cannot be said with certainty. The whole affair winds up with the marriage of Agatha and Firemount, who turn out to be distant cousins. There are three other tales in the book—"Calbot's Rival," "Mrs. Gainsborough's Diamonds," and the "Christmas Guest." In the second of the three, and by far the best in the whole book, the supernatural element is a trick worked by a gang of thieves in order to rob a man of some valuable jewels. Possibly this is the story of which the writer says in the preface:—

One of the tales, it should be added, is a mere *jeu d'esprit*, the presence of which in the collection is justifiable only on the plea that it makes believe to be what the others are—relieving a note too monotonously sounded by lowering it to the key of mockery. Possibly, nevertheless, it may turn out to be the float which will save the weightier portion of the cargo from going too speedily to the bottom.

But it might also be plausibly argued that "Calbot's Rival" is the *jeu d'esprit*, or the first tale of all, or the last, and that all the rest are serious; in any of which cases, we must take each or any of the three to be "the float which will save the weightier portion of the cargo from going too speedily to the bottom."

#### SKERTCHLY'S PHYSIOGRAPHY.\*

MANY people, on hearing that the Department of Science and Art has introduced a new subject for examination, under the title of Physiography, may fail to recognize their old acquaintance Physical Geography, thus docked of its syllables and shorn of its meaning. The new subject appears to treat of things in general, with a sublime disregard of details. At any rate that is the impression which a perusal of Mr. Skertchly's book has conveyed to us. In other hands physiography might perhaps assume the character of an exact science; but Mr. Skertchly writes about the universe in the style of the Special Correspondent, and seems to think it his business to give the latest intelligence without

much regard to its authenticity. He has thus produced a readable book which gives an attractive sketch of physical science, and this is possibly sufficient for the general reader. If that had been his sole aim, we might perhaps have felt thankful to him as a popularizer of science, without criticizing too closely the accuracy of his statements. But the ominous reference in the preface to the Science and Art Department in connexion with examinations, and the general arrangement of the book, lead us to suspect that it is intended as an educational work, in which case it becomes a duty to point out some of the many errors which we have come across. It can hardly be impressed too forcibly on the student that the essence of science is accuracy, and that its educational value consists in the precision of its methods. Mr. Skertchly appears to ignore the importance of scientific training and to aim solely at conveying scientific facts. But even in his facts he is not always to be trusted. In his eagerness for novelty he elevates to the rank of accepted truths the plausible guesses of men of science, without any recognition of the distinction which their authors were careful to draw between such speculations and theories which have stood the test of time. It is true that science would never advance unless its leaders occasionally gave the reins to their imagination; but the previous training they have undergone enables them to check a too wild career. Mr. Skertchly seeks to place his readers ahead of the scientific world without submitting them to the severe discipline which alone can guide them aright. And it is a particularly dangerous subject that he has chosen for this experiment. New ideas are in the air, and a writer who adopts them unreservedly is likely to find his book obsolete in the course of a few months. This is the inevitable penalty for indulging in sensational science, and already in Mr. Skertchly's case Nemesis has come. An instance of this is afforded by his treatment of the question as to the existence of a planet within the orbit of Mercury. With characteristic assurance Mr. Skertchly concludes that the hypothetical planet is a myth, and that the perturbations which puzzled Le Verrier are due to numbers of tiny meteors between Mercury and the sun. An hypothesis which has received the sanction of some of the greatest names in science should have been treated with more respect. The announcement of the discovery of the long-sought Vulcan, during the late eclipse of the sun, is a sufficient answer to this sweeping statement of the Physiographer. In another case—the discovery of the bright lines of oxygen in the solar-spectrum—Mr. Skertchly at once proceeds to found a theory on this the latest scientific novelty; but, unfortunately for his superstructure, the foundations have since been rudely shaken by Mr. Lockyer and others, who dispute the reality of the bright lines in question. We might mention other instances where the advance of science in a few months has sufficed to upset some of the hasty conclusions adopted in this book. It would seem that in physiography a theory must be framed to explain everything, and that it would never do to suspend the judgment in case of doubt. Scientific caution can hardly be expected of a popular writer, but Mr. Skertchly has carried his taste for novelty somewhat to excess. Vividly impressed with the grandeur of his new theory of the universe, he soars above the ordinary rules of arithmetic. The reader will find ample exercise for his ingenuity in attempting to verify the numerical results given in *Physiography*. We will point out in their proper place one or two of the most remarkable instances of Mr. Skertchly's arithmetic. Accuracy in numerical statements may fairly be expected in an educational work, and repeated mistakes are hardly creditable to a scientific writer.

The plan of Mr. Skertchly's book is very good, though we are obliged to criticize severely the details of its execution. His aim is to exhibit the general principles which knit together the physical sciences, and thus from the various classes of natural phenomena to build up the system of the universe. Such a task demands a firm grasp of the leading ideas of which each special science is the development, and it is rare to meet with a mind of this comprehensive power. At any rate Mr. Skertchly appears to have but an uncertain hold of some of the great truths of nature, and thus his book is one of the most tantalizing we have met with. He shadows forth a grand idea of the universe, but fails to realize it. A lucid exposition is followed by a glaring error which makes us rub our eyes and wonder whether our author is laughing at our ignorance. Thus, in his second chapter, he points out with remarkable clearness the distinction between wave-motion and its effects—heat, light, and chemical action—and yet, in the very next chapter, he speaks of these three effects as being something inherent in the undulations themselves, and as having their maxima at different parts of the solar-spectrum. The old idea, long since exploded, is here re-stated—that the maximum of the heat rays is in the ultra-red and of the chemical rays in the ultra-violet. As a matter of fact, Dr. J. W. Draper long ago showed that due allowance had not been made for the crowding together of the red rays and spreading out of the violet by the action of a glass prism; and that, when account was taken of this, the maximum of heat in the solar-spectrum, like that of light, is in the yellow. As for chemical action, it has long been known that it depends on the substance acted on, the maximum for the silver salts used in photography being in the visible part of the violet, and not beyond, as stated by Mr. Skertchly. Under certain conditions of molecular arrangement chemical action has recently been obtained from the red, and even from the ultra-red rays. An author who professes to show us the great scheme of nature ought not to have overlooked some of its most important workings. Erroneous statements are made still

\* *The Physical System of the Universe: an Outline of Physiography.*  
By Sydney B. J. Skertchly, F.G.S. London: Dalby, Isbister & Co.

more mischievous by the circumstance that they appear in "the few terse sentences" in which Mr. Skertchly summarizes, at the end of each chapter, the information he has imparted, and thus they are apt to cling like burrs to the retentive memory of the student. Unfortunately there are in Mr. Skertchly's book too many statements which, if not absolutely wrong, are at least open to question; and they are all formulated in the same dogmatic style, regardless of the uncertainty which attaches to them. We may instance the assertion that aqueous vapour absorbs the red rays and not the violet, a statement which is the exact opposite of the truth. And this erroneous principle is made the basis of a theory of the effect of the atmosphere, and reappears at the end of the chapter under the form, "Water is adiathermanous to most heat rays, and aqueous vapour to those of long period."

As an example of Mr. Skertchly's blunders we may quote the following passage in one of the chapters on the solar system:—

The mean distance of Mars is about *twice* [actually 1.52] that of the earth: consequently an equal area on the surface of Mars will only obtain *one-fourth* [actually more than three-sevenths] of the amount of heat received from the sun upon such an area on earth. We may take, for instance, the mean annual temperature of England at 50° F.; then at the distance of Mars its temperature would be 12°.5 F., or 19°.5 F. below freezing-point, which is considerably below the mean temperature of any known place, and about equal to the temperature of South Greenland in January. Similarly the mean temperature of the equator is about 80° F.; at the distance of Mars it would be 20° F., or 12° F. below freezing-point, which is about the mean temperature of Novaya Zemlia. Even the summer temperature of the Sahara, which is now 95° F., would fall to 23°.7 F., or 8°.3 below the freezing-point.

Now, passing over the not inconsiderable error in the distance of Mars, which we have indicated in brackets, and which does not say much for the author's accuracy, we are lost in admiration of his refreshing innocence as regards the elementary laws of heat. Amongst other fallacies implied in the above passage, it will be remarked that his reasoning assumes the zero of Fahrenheit's scale to be the temperature of space, which is actually 456° below Fahrenheit's zero. It is of course from this temperature of absolute cold that the proportionate heating effect of the sun both for the earth and Mars has to be reckoned, though even then the calculation would be vitiated by the effects of the internal heat of the two bodies, not to mention the influence of their atmospheres. It is only fair to Mr. Skertchly to say that, after indulging in the remarkable calculation we have quoted, he very sensibly concludes:—"It is then illogical to argue as to climatic changes from Mars to the earth; firstly, because his physical conditions are very different from ours; secondly, because we are not sure that we are actually viewing ice or snow; thirdly, because we know nothing about the composition of his atmosphere." This is not the only case where Mr. Skertchly comes to grief with regard to the temperature of space. In dealing with the effects of aerial and oceanic currents he states it as -239° F. instead of -456° F. or -271° C. He has apparently taken Centigrade for Fahrenheit, and has then subtracted 32° for the number of degrees between freezing-point and Fahrenheit's zero. This mistake in a well-known physical constant utterly vitiates the whole of his subsequent calculation in p. 301. The reader will have to be on his guard in taking on trust any numerical statement made by Mr. Skertchly. The table of wave-lengths in p. 70 has a mistake in the decimal point running all down the second column, and the number for the extreme violet should be 0.000,015 instead of 0.000,167. In one place the velocity of light is stated as 190,000 miles a second, in another as 186,000, and in another as 185,000. Again, in p. 254, where the vexed question of the internal solidity of the earth is disposed of by the easy process of begging the question, Mr. Skertchly begins a calculation by a blunder in arithmetic as to the compression of water, which he states as *one 44-millionth*, and then writes as 0.000,044 or *44 one-millionths*. In his chapter on earth sculpture we have not found a single calculation correct. Thus in p. 316 the denudation of the Mississippi basin should be not quite 1-5,000th instead of 1-6,000th of a foot per annum. In p. 318 the denudation of the British Isles is computed by a circuitous and clumsy process, and the result is given as  $\frac{1}{8800}$  instead of  $\frac{1}{6400}$  of a foot. In p. 346, 459,388 is given instead of 459,228, as the result of a simple calculation. Such mistakes, large and small, betray a carelessness which is quite inexplicable in the writer of a scientific text-book, such as, we presume, *Physiography* is intended to be. There is much, too, that is questionable in some of the conclusions adopted so unreservedly by the author. We cannot attempt to criticize all that appears to us to come under this category, but we may mention those that relate to sun-spots and the constitution of the sun, our knowledge of which is in a transitional stage, and the theory of the formation of comets' tails. As regards the last, we think that, if Mr. Skertchly were better acquainted with the phenomena, he would see that they are too complicated to be explained in this off-hand way. In fact, the less that is known the more easy it is to frame a theory. Mr. Skertchly seems to have derived too much of his knowledge at second-hand from popular writers. Thus, in his chapter on the sidereal system and elsewhere, he is apparently content to sit at the feet of Mr. Lockyer and Mr. Proctor and to derive his inspiration from them.

With all its faults, there is yet much that is good in Mr. Skertchly's *Physiography*, and it is far in advance of other books on the subject in giving the spirit of modern physical thought. It is unfortunately disfigured by many mistakes and inconsistencies, and it has been our thankless task to point out the most important of these as a warning to the reader. He may, however, gain much

valuable information from the book, if he reads it with his eyes open, and remembers that its author only presents the ideas now current amongst scientific men. We are afraid that Mr. Skertchly has undertaken a task somewhat beyond his powers, and one that demanded greater care than he has thought fit to bestow on it.

#### ROMAN ANTIQUITIES AT LYDNEY PARK.\*

**N**O excuse can be needed for recalling attention to the Roman antiquities in Lydney Park, of which we took some notice in a former article (August 29, 1874), seeing that, through the death of Mr. Bathurst, the task of editing the contributions of his father and another member of his family to the literature of the subject has fallen to so well-known an archaeologist as Mr. C. W. King, and that in his estimation these remains of the "Silurian Pompeii" exceed in curiosity and value anything of the kind yet discovered in this country. Students of archaeology and epigraphy have here a rare opportunity of examining *in situ* the traces of a most interesting group of ancient buildings, which, originally a Roman military station, became by degrees the settled residence of a number of persons, military and civil, gathered round a Proconsular dwelling, and of inspecting the vestiges of elegant tessellated pavements, painted stucco walls, well-arranged hypocausts, with divers other relics of Britanno-Roman civilization, and, more curious than all, a veritable heathen temple, with, as it now seems, an oracular shrine.

The volume before us begins with the late Mr. Bathurst's lucid abstract of an ingenious and speculative, but perhaps too discursive, dissertation by his father, Mr. C. Bragge Bathurst, sometime Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, on the character of the villa and temple first systematically traced out by him about the year 1805 on the so-called Camp Hill, the larger of two fortified areas occupying contiguous hill-tops within the bounds of Lydney Park. This is limited to sixteen pages, the matter of which has been to some extent already made public in the writer's oral lectures to archaeological societies visiting the spot. Miss Bathurst, the daughter of the original discoverer, had left "a descriptive catalogue of coins" selected for their special interest from the vast numbers found in excavating the spot; and this list, which occupies fifty pages, and the accuracy of which Mr. King avouches with the authority of an expert, has been added to the volume. The remainder consists of some thirty plates of the various classes of relics here brought to light, with a careful description of them by the present editor, and it is on this portion that we shall now chiefly dwell. Mr. King's inducements to undertake the work have been the unprecedented nature of many of the discoveries, the light they reflect on the history of the Roman occupation, and their singular value as specimens of national art. The points to which he has paid most attention are (1) the nature and powers of the deity to whom the temple belonged; (2) the true reading of the dedication; and (3) the question of the authenticity of the great sculptured remains.

From Mr. Bathurst's abstract it will be seen that there is reason to infer from the series of coins found in the ruins that this station was occupied all through the period of Roman sway in Britain, and was at last evacuated in haste when the place was suddenly destroyed by fire. In early times the site was a waste that would have defied the plough; nor was it till 1670 that it was enclosed in the present park. Even at a later period local superstition invested the traces of buildings overgrown with bushes with the names of Dwarfs' Hill and Dwarfs' Chapel, attributing them to the "little people," and so perhaps repressing predatory curiosity. According to the plan in plate iv. the whole breadth of buildings N. and S. was 300 feet, and the utmost length E. and W. 315; and they consisted of three principal parts. The first is supposed to have been the chief military commander's house; and this was the earliest portion of the building, marked A, with its atrium surrounded by a crypto-porticus, and flanked by rooms mostly small, and in several instances paved with rougher or finer mosaics, the largest—perhaps the triclinium—measuring 24 feet by 18 feet. Section B of this range of buildings appears to have been of later construction, and to have been added with a view to the comfort of baths and heated rooms; the latter, it would seem, rather than the former, as nothing here indicates distinctly the hot, tepid, and cold baths found in some remains of Roman villas. Hypocausts and praefurnia, or fire-rooms, are traceable here; but no approach to a bath, no hole in the wall to admit or let off water, is found even in the oval room (xlii.), where an early excavator, Major Rooke, in 1775, gratuitously imagined both in his representation of it to the Antiquarian Repertory. But the third compartment (C) is the main attraction—namely, the temple (93 feet by 76), which is inferred to be such from its three votive tablets on bronze and lead, and the dedication (see plate viii.) worked into the tessellated pavement of the temple, all of which testify to the presence of a Supreme God (D.M.), while the three inscriptions make him to have been Nodens or Nodons. This Nodens or Nodons was until recently identified very plausibly with the Greek and Roman *Aesculapius*, and the author of the theory (Sir W. Drummond in a letter to the Rev. D. Lyons in 1826) conjectured that his name was a corruption of *Medover* in

\* *Roman Antiquities at Lydney Park, Gloucestershire. A Posthumous Work of Rev. W. Hiley Bathurst, M.A. With Notes by C. W. King, M.A., Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. London: Longmans & Co. 1879.*

the sense of alleviator of pain, and that the emblems found with the inscriptions—serpents, cocks, dogs—strongly confirmed the supposition; to which a shrewd epigraphist, Dr. McCaul, in his *Britanno-Roman Inscriptions*, adds the witness of the votive offerings of limbs found there. As a god *Nodotus* or *Nodutus* is found in Roman mythology presiding over knots or joints of corn, there may have been some plausibility in the idea that this deity, with his name a little tortured, had turned up in Britain, and that his healing powers might be connected with his name, through some association of human and vegetable joints. The situation of his temple betwixt the Severn and the Wye—a region not unlikely to encourage gout and rheumatism—gave a certain countenance to the notion, though it must be admitted that Mr. Bathurst has anticipated the objections to the arguments of Dr. McCaul advanced by Mr. King.

At this point it may be convenient to examine the dedicatory inscription as it is read and explained by Mr. King, and to compare it with the three votive tablets under the new light reflected on them by the same interpreter. As read by Dr. McCaul, the dedication ran

D.A . . . FLAVIUS SENILIS PR. REL. EX STEPIBVS  
POSSVIT O . . . ANTE VICTORINO INTER . . . ATE,

where he proposed to read *[Opus cur]ante* as the complement of the first lacuna in the second line, and *INTER[amn]ATE* as that of the second. *Interamnate* is explained as equivalent to “a dweller between the Severn and the Wye,” and *PR. REL.* as denoting “Præses Religionis.” With the aid of the accurate drawing made at the time of discovery, Mr. King arrives at the following reading:—

Deo Maximo Iterum FLAVIUS  
SENILIS PRæses RELigionis  
EX STIPIBVS POSSVIT  
opitulANTE VICTORINO INTER  
preto LaTINE :

which being interpreted will stand for:—

To the Greatest God for the second time Flavius Senilis, head of religion, has erected this from voluntary contributions, the director of the works being Victorinus, interpreter for the Latin tongue.

Before proceeding with the inferences drawn by Mr. King from this interpretation, it should be noted that a little out of the exact centre of this dedication on the pavement, so as to avoid interfering with the names, is a circular opening, nine inches in diameter, surrounded by a broad red band enclosed by two others of blue—an unsightly object involving apparently some high mystery. So must have thought the original discoverer of the temple, whose memoir indicates a suspicion that a cavern might have been found beneath this orifice to which to trace oracular agency. When, however, he found that the terra-cotta funnel led only to loose earth, he abandoned this idea, as he also soon did that of its being a mere drain to carry off rain water. From a clue suggested by Sir S. Meyrick to Mr. Lyons—to the effect that Nodens was only Romanized British, and that Deus Noddyns would be i.e. the God of the Deep or the Abyss, which is confirmed to Mr. King by Professor Jarrett, a profound Celtic scholar—it has struck the present editor that the object of the orifice and drain may have been to pour libations, perhaps drink-offerings of blood, through it to the God of the Deeps for the dry soil beneath to drink up. We know from Homer's Odyssey and Horace's Epodes that libations to the infernal gods were customary, and nothing could be more consistent with the nature of the Silurian deity according to Sir S. Meyrick's view of his name, and the traces of his attributes which Mr. King finds in plate xiii., than that these drink-offerings should sink into the depths of the earth. The broad band of sanguine hue encircling the funnel aids Mr. King's conjecture, and he sees several grounds for suspecting here the site of an oracle, one of the strongest being that there was an evident paying of fees into the treasury and coffer of Nodens (see plate xxii., where letters figured for mailing on wood form, save one missing letter, the words “Nodent(s) acrum”), up to the very time of the destruction of the temple. This aquatic god, represented (see plate xiii.) sceptre in hand, and borne over the waves in a car drawn by four sea-horses, under the escort of Winds and Tritons, may well have had, like the marine gods in the *Odyssey*, and elsewhere, the gift of prophecy.

To return, however, to the dedication plate. Accepting the form *præses religionis* as standing for the “head of religion,” and translating “iterum possuit” (we must be prepared for rather barbarous Latin) “rebuilt,” it has been seen how—namely, from the fees of pilgrims to the shrine, not from an enforced tax on the conquered Britons by order of the Government—we come to inquire who this “head of religion” was. Mr. King makes him out by his cognomen “Senilis” to have been a Briton born; by his *nomen* Flavius, one who had so acknowledged himself, in the customary way, a client of the victor; and by his office, which must have been that of chief priest of a British local creed, a Druid, the Archdruid of the province. The editor pictures such a one surrounding himself with all the “dileminta victorum” (as Tacitus calls them) of a position such as the place had become under his new protectors, and surmises that the cognomen Senilis is probably only a translation of his British name “Hen,” the old. We well remember a Welsh squire telling us that his ancient butler was usually described by his native fellow-servants as “the Hen gentleman.” It is evident that, whether the right reading is “opus curante” or “opitulante,” it implies that Victorinus was clerk of the works; but Mr. King has quite altered the inference

as to his nationality by reading “Interprete Latine” for the untenable “Interamnate.” He conceives Victorinus to have been a plebeian architect from Gaul who had come over in the train of Agricola, and, as the last letters in the dedication are TINE, not ATE, boldly proposes to read “Interprete Latine” on the analogy of “Loqui Latine,” “interpretari Latine,” as describing Victorinus's profession. The Greek orators needed their interpreters *ἰνοφήραι*. The Sellii, according to Homer, were the interpreters at Dodona. And, to quote Mr. King, “These Sellii were true Druids, in the proper sense of the term, Priests of the Oak, and the Zeus of Dodone was a Pelasgic deity, and thereby of cognate origin with the Silurian Nodens.” As he goes on to remark, this interpreter and architect and clerk of the works was so versatile that, like Juvenal's half-starved Greek, he could turn his hand to anything, and it is easy to infer that in his trade of interpreter he was essential to a native shrine whose responses he could interpret for the Latin-speaking population growing up on the forest side of the Severn. From the dates of the coins scattered broadcast over the site of the temple—the earlier ones being Imperial coins in great numbers, and the writing or lettering of the inscription exhibiting a peculiarity of early Latin epigraphy, a sloping of many characters from left to right—Mr. King infers that this dedication is contemporaneous with the “graffiti” scribbled on the house-walls of Pompeii; and he does not hesitate to pronounce it “the most important of the kind ever discovered.”

With the three votive tablets, which we noticed in a former article, we must deal but briefly. No. 3 is the most curious, as being not an expression of gratitude, but rather a bribe to get “the God of the Abyss” to aid in the recovery of stolen goods. Silvianus, the vower, had lost a ring, and suspected Senicianus of the theft; but, having no proof, begs “the God of the Abyss,” who was the giver of health, to afflict this Senicianus and his kith and kin with all manner of disease, till the stealer brings back to the temple the lost article. The fee, bribe, or votive offering is the worth of half the ring; and, as Roman rings were very weighty, and British provincials very poor, this ring may have been all the gold Silvianus had. The tablet No. 2 records “the payment by Pectillus of the vow he promised to the greatest God Nodens,” and has a rude figure, which Mr. King pronounces to be a wolf, at the head of it. Pectillus he suspects to have been a slave-boy in the service of the Flavian family at the villa, and this votive tablet a record of the thankful little Pectillus for protection from such a foe, identified with the same animal represented in plate xxvii., “in the vast Silurian wood.” The inscription No. 1 runs thus:—“D. M. Nodonti Fl. Blandinus Armatura V.S.L.M.,” and declares that Flavius, probably a member of the family of Senilis, discharged his vow with all his heart to the supreme god Nodens, who had well deserved it. As we have often noticed, inaccuracies of spelling are frequent in *Britanno-Roman* inscriptions, but this is the most free from such, and its elegant lettering bespeaks an early date.

Among the various curiosities of this Lydney treasure trove we can note only a curious British dog in bronze, with a great head and short tail, the ugliness and courage of which, as Mr. King reminds us, are descended on by Gratius Faliscus; and in the same plate xxvii. two drawings of a bronze fibula, forming the head and neck of another ancient British animal, the then wild Bos longifrons of the British forests. The neck is inlaid with coloured enamels, and it is pointed out in p. 61 that this enamelling is actually ascribed by Philostratus to the “barbarians dwelling on the coasts of the ocean”—i.e. to the Celts.

There remains for notice one other most interesting problem amongst the Lydney Roman remains—the terminal statues, which many antiquaries have suspected of having “got there” irregularly. As Mr. King explains, they are more properly termed Hermæ, and before being set up in their present site they had long lain neglected at the foot of the villa plateau. In arrest of a too summary judgment, the present editor suggests that they are colossal busts mounted on plinths all cut from one solid block of Forest stone, and therefore carved in the Lydney district. One is a Faun with the deerskin round his shoulders, the other a lady with hair dressed à la Domitia. The execution is rough, though not without vigour and expression. It is certainly in favour of their authenticity that the date of the lady's *coiffure* synchronizes with the inference derivable from the family nomen “Flavius” of the builder of the temple, and the fashion lasted but twenty-five years or so. A local stonemason or a local proprietor of modern or quasi-modern times would hardly have executed or conceived such archaeologically accurate costumes. They would have gone for the faun's garb to the higher gods and goddesses, and for the lady's head-dress not to the homely Domitia, but to the more famous and beautiful, but less chronologically accurate, Livias and Augustas. These “trunci Hermæ,” explains Mr. King, were very common architectural embellishments of large Roman mansions. In a coin of M. Aurelius, the architrave of a portico of a temple to Mercury is borne on the heads of four such colossal Hermæ, the plinths stilted on very high blocks. These then, he conjectures, stood before the pilasters bearing up the pediment of the Temple of Nodens, along with two or four others, “among whom the emperor of course displayed his ungracious countenance; and all of which hurled down the steep by the iconoclasts who profaned the shrine, may be now reposing deep in the alluvial soil at the bottom of the hill” (p. 126). It is not an unreasonable suspicion which he hazards in his last page that the weird appearance of one of these heads, emerging from the ruins of the temple, may have given the

site the name of the "Dwarf's Chapel"; and the passage which Mr. King quotes from Gildas "de excidio Britanniae" about the multitude of heathen idols with their ugly faces surviving the final departure of the Romans inside and outside of ruined edifices, will read the better if we substitute "ringentia," grinning, for "rigentia," stiff and stony.

We cannot too highly praise this valuable addition to our works on Britanno-Roman archaeology, and the contributions of all concerned in it. It well deserves to rank with Mr. Lee's *Isca Silurum*, Mr. Scarth's *Aqua Solis*, Buckman and Newmarch's *Cornium*, and other such works. A former inspection of the treasures on the spot enables us to testify to the accuracy of the plates, and the lithographic view of the Camp Hill and plan of the remains (pl. ii. and iv.) will be found very serviceable.

#### CHALMERS ON BILLS OF EXCHANGE.\*

Of all books, perhaps the most difficult to review are law-books which, like Mr. Chalmers's, are couched in purely digest form. Law books must necessarily be devoid of the general interest which attaches to historical, geographical, and biographical literature; they possess no plot, the ingenuity or absurdity of which, in works of fiction, affords subject of comment favourable or the reverse; while originality of thought has but little scope where everything has to be settled by what some one else has previously said about it. But most law-books reveal to the reviewer somewhat of the literary capacity of their author; style and composition are submitted to his judgment, and thus he has matter for criticism beyond the mere consideration of the propositions of law advanced in the book under review. But the digest form does away with this. If reviewing ordinary law-books may be compared to dissection, reviewing a digest resembles osteology. A law digest is a collection of bare propositions of law, everything superfluous being pared away, so as to leave the substructure more conspicuous and palpable. Unless one is prepared, therefore, to controvert such propositions, there is not very much to say about a book of this class. Clearness, order, and accuracy are the chief requisites in an author who undertakes to digest a portion of the law, and, when combined with industry, are pretty sure to lead to a successful execution of the task. But, after all, digests are the kind of law-books most useful to the legal profession, in whose interest, rather than in that of reviewers, technical works must be taken to be written. Students no doubt derive assistance from having their law amplified and illustrated by the comments of an able exponent; but save in the case of the small group of text writers whose fame imparts an intrinsic value to their utterances, it is not of much use to the practising lawyer to find out what Mr. A. or Mr. B. thinks and has written on a certain point; what he really wants to know are the authorities admissible in support of his case, or on which to form his opinion, and these are of course far more readily discoverable by means of a digest than by reference to any book where they are enshrined in original matter. The law of "bills of exchange, cheques, and notes," which Mr. Chalmers has selected for his subject, affords peculiar facilities for treatment in digest form. The legal incidents attaching to such instruments depend on decisions far more than on either Statute or Common Law; these decisions are very numerous, and sometimes not easily reconcilable; in bill cases it is often of great importance to be able to come to a conclusion as rapidly as possible, and for that purpose to have all the authorities ready to hand, while the profession and the public are already in possession of a good text-book, in Byles on Bills, as could possibly be written. Mr. Chalmers has then done wisely in casting his book in its present form, and the plan, thus well conceived, has been most effectually carried out.

In his preface Mr. Chalmers justifies the form of his book partly on the grounds we have just specified, and partly as helping to pave the way for future codification, instancing, as law-writers who have adopted the same course with a similar aim, Mr. Justice Stephen and Mr. F. Pollock. Mr. Chalmers also draws attention to two innovations introduced by him into his work, which cannot fail largely to increase its clearness and utility:—

To save space, letters are substituted for names in the illustrations, and to facilitate reference and comparison, the same letter is always used to denote the same party to a bill or note. Thus A is always used for the drawer of a bill, B for the drawee or acceptor of a bill or the maker of a note, C for the payee and first endorser of a bill or note. When a case is quoted the date is given. This avoids the necessity of referring to more than one report; and, where cases are in conflict, it enables the reader to see at a glance which is the most recent and therefore the most authoritative.

The cosmopolitan nature of negotiable instruments affords good reason for the full and valuable references to Continental law which Mr. Chalmers has incorporated into his book, including notices of the Indian Draft Code. Turning to the body of Mr. Chalmers's work, we find it to consist of a series of 287 propositions, each with its due complement of illustrations and, where necessary, exceptions. The illustrations have the advantage of being all drawn from actually decided and reported cases, while the system of introducing exceptions relieves the author from the difficulties inseparable from the attempt to formulate definite invariable rules applicable to all cases. Few sciences are safely reducible to absolute and universal formulæ—certainly not that

of law; and the endeavour to comprehend all possible cases generally results in the exclusion of many which a less ambitious statement would have included. The old rule adopted in grammars is unquestionably the best—namely, to state a proposition as broadly as is consistent with general accuracy, and then to admit and specify the inevitable exceptions. In addition to his propositions, illustrations, and exceptions, Mr. Chalmers gives occasionally explanations for the purpose of drawing attention to instances which, though strictly within the terms of the propositions, are yet, by reason of special circumstances, not so readily referable thereto. Mr. Chalmers's scheme is thus a very complete and systematic one, affording every facility for speedily discovering the page at which information is given on any point.

Beginning, then, at the beginning, Mr. Chalmers explains the most usual and simple form of a bill of exchange—its essentials, such as being for a sum certain, not contingent or conditional, save in the sense of being payable at a fixed period after an event which cannot fail to happen, and so forth—besides denoting the various parties to a bill and their respective liabilities in relation thereto. Among the "illustrations" of bills void, as being payable only on a contingency, is one rather amusing on account of its hopeful vagueness—"Pay, &c., when I am in good circumstances." It scarcely appears necessary to specify, as an exception to the rule as to the non-contingent character of the payment of bills, the well-known class of bills which are payable on demand or after sight, inasmuch as such do not strictly become payable on a contingency, and Mr. Chalmers has not so treated them. It seems, however, curious that a bill payable "five years after the opening of the S. Railway" should have been held valid, inasmuch as projected railways do not invariably arrive at completion and opening, and Mr. Chalmers adds to the quotation of this case the significant note, "No objection raised."

The question as to the legality of post-dating cheques, so that they may not be presented for payment until some time after their issue, is one which has been the subject of considerable dispute. Mr. Chalmers does not appear to have any doubt as to the validity of such instruments. But, if we remember rightly, the late case of Currie v. Miza went far to show that, where a cheque is post-dated in pursuance of an intention entertained by the parties to arrive at the results of a bill of exchange without incurring the expense of the higher stamp, such a transaction would not be allowed to stand, as being a fraud on the revenue. One of the most perplexing and mysterious subjects with which a lawyer unacquainted with mercantile usages can have to deal is that of bills drawn in sets, and to such the clear and definite rules and explanations given by Mr. Chalmers will be most acceptable. Due reference is made at p. 30 to the Bills of Exchange Act of last year, by which the doubt raised by the case of Hindbaugh v. Blakey, as to the sufficiency of an acceptance which consisted merely in the drawer's writing his name across the bill, was set at rest. As an example of the clearness and conciseness of Mr. Chalmers's style and the almost epigrammatic compression of his definitions, we would cite the description of the somewhat complex person known to the law as a "*bond fide* holder for value without notice," as being "a holder for value who, at the time he becomes the holder and gives value, is really and truly without notice of any facts which, if known, would defeat his title to the bill." Many people are puzzled, when they get a cheque to order drawn to them with their names wrongly spelt, as to how they are to endorse it; and Mr. Chalmers, at p. 103, points out that the proper method is to endorse it first in the name as spelt, and afterwards in the true name, giving as his illustration a Mr. J. Smith, to whom a bill has been endorsed by the more aristocratic name of "J. Smythe." It seems somewhat remarkable that no case has as yet arisen in the English courts to decide the question whether there is any limit to the time within which a bill of exchange payable on demand must be presented for payment. Mr. Chalmers, in Art. 162, lays down that it "must be presented for payment within a reasonable time"; but he is only able to adduce in support of this proposition the authority of the text-books and one American decision. Cases of a similar nature with regard to cheques and promissory notes are not lacking; but the essential differences between these instruments and bills of exchange prevent decisions with reference to one class from being indiscriminately applicable to all. Cheques are obviously intended for rapid negotiation or speedy payment, while the single decision referred to as to notes is not a very strong one. Continental codes, as Mr. Chalmers notices, are unanimous in requiring the presentation of bills payable on demand within a reasonable time; and we are disposed to agree with the author in thinking this a salutary rule, inasmuch as the indefinite extension of a liability of this sort is calculated to work inconvenience for which it is difficult to see the counterbalancing advantage.

It seems scarcely necessary to recapitulate the propositions in which Mr. Chalmers embodies the incidents of a bill from the time it is drawn to the time it is paid, and the liabilities and remedies which arise on default of any of the parties at the various stages of its existence. Suffice it to say that all this is comprehensively and, so far as we can judge, accurately treated in the present work. Mr. Chalmers has done well in saving both time and space by dealing with bills, cheques, and notes together under the common head of bills so long as the principles enunciated apply to all three alike, and then appending in separate chapters such provisions as are applicable to cheques only, and such as deal exclusively with notes. Among those referring to cheques is, of course, the Crossed Cheques Act of 1876, which was passed with

\* *A Digest of the Law of Bills of Exchange, Promissory Notes, and Cheques.* By M. D. Chalmers, M.A., of the Inner Temple, Barrister-at-Law. London : Stevens & Sons.

the view of affording greater security to persons who may lose cheques or have them stolen from them. The method in which this protection is conferred is well explained by Mr. Chalmers, who in Arts. 269 and 270 has succeeded in making clear what is left rather indefinite by the Act itself. Art. 269 is as follows:—"A person who takes a cheque crossed generally or specially, which bears also the words 'not negotiable,' does not acquire, and cannot give, a better title to the cheque than that which the person from whom he took it had." And the illustration is very apt:—"A cheque payable to bearer and crossed generally and with the words 'not negotiable' is stolen. The thief gets C., a tradesman, to cash it for him. C. acts *bond fide* in doing so. C. pays the cheque into his bankers, who present it and obtain payment. The banker who pays and the banker who receives payment are protected, but C. is liable to refund the money to the true owner. Again, assuming the cheque to have been stopped, C. cannot sue the drawer." Art. 270 treats of the remedies of the true owner against bankers who have paid a cheque contrary to the terms of the crossing. This Act, it may be remembered, was passed to obviate the defective condition of the law disclosed by the case of *Smith v. The Union Bank*, in which it was held that the person rightly entitled to a crossed cheque had no remedy against a banker who, by paying it without regard to the directions contained in the crossing, had deprived him of the benefit thereof.

Mr. Chalmers's book may be dull reading, as all digests must be; but, as a handy book of reference on a difficult and important branch of the law, it is most valuable, and it is perfectly plain that no pains have been spared to render it complete in every respect. The index is copious and well arranged, and by its means the dislocation inseparable from alphabetical arrangement is avoided, while the ease of reference, which is almost the sole virtue of that system, is attained by more legitimate means.

#### THE GRAHAMS OF INVERMOY.\*

**I**N reading such a story as *The Grahams of Invermoy* we entertain for a moment something like a feeling of envy of those who are Scotch by birth. The pride of country shown by the author and her characters is so strong, the feeling of kindred is so intense, the pleasure of prejudice is so keen, that we begin to consider whether it might not be worth while to sacrifice not a little so as to be entitled to have one's share in them. Much the same end, no doubt, would be gained by belonging either to Cumberland or to Cornwall. It is the outlying parts of a large country where these feelings are found at their strongest. A greater breadth of view and a greater freedom from narrow prejudices may belong to the native of the capital; but it may be doubted whether, so far as happiness goes, he does not lose more than he gains by the vast extent of the society in which he was born. What man can derive constant satisfaction from the knowledge that the place of his birth is Middlesex, and that his name is Smith? Who would give a stranger a hearty welcome on the other side of the world, or travel miles through the bush to see him, because they were both Londoners? The very notion would be absurd. And yet when we find in this story one Scotchman coming a long distance through the Australian scrub to see another merely because he had heard that he was "from home," it seems reasonable and natural enough. It is the strong display of these feelings that renders Scotch stories peculiarly pleasant reading. We are by them admitted within the family group, and we are allowed to see a strength of feeling which in real life is, as a general rule, so carefully hidden from outsiders. These tales do away with those "imperfect sympathies," to use Lamb's expression, which so constantly keep mere acquaintance between an Englishman and a Scotchman from warming into friendship. We see how tender a heart there exists beneath an outside which is too often cold, if not repulsive. There can be no question that many an Englishman who is uncomfortable in the company of a living Scotchman nevertheless has among the Scotch in the world of fiction some of those who are dearest to him. Those who read the story before us will find one or two additions made to the group. For Miss Stirling is as Scotch as is her name. Contrary indeed to what her name would naturally lead us to expect, she evidently ranks the Highlanders as much above the Lowlanders as she ranks the Lowlanders above the English. And yet we must admit that her two heroines are English. But here, on second thoughts, we ought not to forget that these two sisters, Ellen and Agnes Barton, have Scotch blood in them, and can claim kindred with the Grahams of Invermoy. It is little wonder, then, that they are such charming young ladies, and so unlike their worldly, pompous father, the London rector. He, poor wretch, had no Scotch blood in him, and was a mere Englishman. It was by the mother's side that they were related to this Highland clan; and it was from their mother, no doubt, that all that was good and charming in them came.

Pleasantly and prettily though the story is written, it certainly is a good half-volume too long. We do not always know how we ought, when stories are dragged out, to apportion the blame. The author sometimes lays the blame on the publisher, who insists on having three volumes instead of two or one; the publisher

\* *The Grahams of Invermoy.* By M. C. Stirling, Author of "A True Man," "The Princess of Sunderland," &c. 3 vols. London: Hurst & Blackett. 1879.

passes it on to the keeper of the circulating library; and he in his turn lays it all on the public. We cannot but suspect that a writer who shows the good taste and the literary skill which in no small degree distinguish Miss Stirling's novels would be very unlikely, for the sake of adding a hundred and fifty more pages or so to her book, to lessen greatly the merits of her story. By the time that she had killed off the wife of one of the heroes and the husband of one of the heroines, she had surely done enough. She had come to a fit halting-place, and more was not needed. She certainly had an interesting young Scotchman on her hands, who had gone to Australia a poor lad, and had come back to visit his old country a prosperous man. It was quite right that he should have a wife; but settlers do things in great haste. In three pages he could have made the voyage home, been welcomed by his friends, wooed and won his bride, and started off on his return. As it is, he fills up a good deal too much space. There is this excuse, however, that he belonged to the small village in the fortunes of whose inhabitants the author so much interests her readers. The plot of her story is woven of three threads. She recounts the lives of three young Scotchmen, all somewhat closely connected together. She takes us with one of them through the latter part of the Peninsular war; with the other to India; and with the third to Australia. It is certainly a somewhat daring act in a female author to write a tale of war, and yet perhaps many a Scotchwoman really knows a great deal more about the stories of battles than not a few of our English male novelists. At all events, so far as fireside talk goes, they have every chance of becoming experienced war critics. Certainly the adventures through which Duncan Graham is led, the only son of the Laird of Invermoy, seem, to our imperfect judgment, quite correct. Furious charges are made, deeds of arms are performed, the thin British line holds its own, Highlanders carry everything before them, and the French, after an obstinate resistance, retreat in haste in the most orthodox fashion. The author goes some little way towards spoiling this part of the story by adding a note in which she states that some of the incidents, including a curious and most timely discovery of a treasure, are facts. If an incident is so improbable that such a statement as this is required by way of justification, it is, we maintain, unfit for the purposes of fiction. For in fiction we ask for what, though it may never have happened, is yet not only possible but also probable. If, on the other hand, the incident is probable and natural, to tell us that it really happened goes far to spoil the illusion of the story. No such note does Miss Stirling think it needful to add to the very pretty piece of love-making that the young soldier gets through when staying in London on his way to the war. There is little need to tell us that it is a fact that a young Scotch officer wooed and won a pretty English wife—Scotch, we must remember, by the mother's side.

The character of this young man is cleverly drawn; no less clever is the drawing of his old father Invermoy, and of his Lowland mother. She was the daughter of the laird's grieve—in fact, it had been the old case of the squire's son, or rather the squire himself, and the bailiff's daughter. The contrast between her and Miss Mary Graham, her husband's cousin, is drawn with great skill. The lad was resolved on being a soldier. The aunt fully entered into his feelings, but the mother could not understand them. "She was not born a Graham," she felt, "and these two had something in common as their eyes met during the music that she could not share." The father was scarcely less disappointed in his son, though in a different way. He was willing for him to serve in the war, but when peace was made he thought that he would settle down into a country gentleman, and take to farming his own lands. Neither could understand the lad's temperament, and both therefore found their greatest disappointment in their only child. Their cousin Duncan Graham—the confusion that is caused by there being two Duncan Grahams and two Allan Grahams, though very true to Scotch ways, is somewhat puzzling to the reader—and his wife were also disappointed in their son, but in quite a different manner. They were bent on their son Allan being a soldier, as all his kindred had been before him. "His heart was set on quiet country life, such as the Laird led, and his one ambition was to possess a piece of Scottish soil. As he stood beneath his cousin's beeches, he vowed that some day he would stand beneath trees that he could call his own." It was much the same vow as Warren Hastings had made, and Allan took much the same way to carry it out. He went to India to seek his fortune. He had been resolute in going into a merchant's office, and in learning business thoroughly. His mother lost her husband in battle, but, utterly lonely though she was left, she was never able to reconcile herself to her son or to understand his nature. At the last, however, on the very day when he was to sail to India, she laid her trembling hands on his head and said:—

"Allan, I fear me I have failed in my duty to you, though I never saw it till last night. Voices have spoken to me in the darkness, and I seemed to see clearer than ever before. I made to myself an idol, and the Lord took it out of my hands. If I have sinned, may the sin never be visited on your head, my son! You have chosen another walk in life than the one we wished, and I know nothing of its ways. But I know this, that, soldier or merchant, you may be a man of your word, as your father was. No one had ever to seek for two meanings in aught that he said; let it be so with you, and the Lord bless you and keep you!"

A short but lively account is given of Allan's stay in India, and here it seems clear to us that the author is dealing with scenes with which she is familiar. Allan makes a moderate fortune, and, returning to Europe, is soon enabled by the death of his cousin, who has left no heir, to stand beneath trees that he can call his own. He of

course has his love-making to go through, and he goes through it very prettily. It is really too bad, however, of Miss Stirling to kill off his wife. She had already a widow on her hands in one of her heroines, and it was surely quite needless to make a widower in one of her heroes. If the widower and the widow could have married, the case might have been different; but, as the two cousins had married sisters, this was not practicable. The third of the young Scotchmen was the son of a poor Highlander, "who was a wise man as well as a good weaver." The description of the spot where he lived shows that Miss Stirling has the eye of an artist:—

When the day's work was over, Robert would don his broad blue bonnet and grey plaid, and saunter out to the three great trees that crowned a grassy knoll near the clachan. There two dark sycamores threw out the lighter foliage of the lime in strong relief, and their mingled shade fell on sweet-smelling wild thyme and starry eyebright. Below this knoll ran a brimming stream, spanned by an ancient bridge of such fairy proportions that it scarcely seemed to be built of solid stone. The pointed arch sprang lightly from tiny buttresses, buried in birchen bush and ivy, and the old weaver loved to gaze at it night after night, though he could not have told why it so delighted his eyes.

The old man's lad picked up all the learning he could from his father, and from a school to which in summer he walked many a weary mile. He then went up to a college life in Edinburgh, and lived, as many a Scotchman has lived, on porridge and milk. "He toiled early and late, reading far into the night when he could get a comrade to share with him the cost of a solitary candle." Miss Stirling says, with much truth, that "this self-denial that makes men was largely practised in the dim closes of the Old Town, and was not even thought remarkable, for fastidious luxury had not yet become the fashion." He was intended for the ministry, but he felt that he had no call for it, and went into trade. He too at length made his fortune, as we have said, and was happy enough not to get married till the very end of the story, so that he gave the author no chance of killing off either himself or his bride.

We have noticed one or two words or phrases which the author would do well to correct, should her story, as we hope it may, reach a second edition. A couple of chairs can scarcely be said to be piled on each other. If the brain photographs at any time, which we very much doubt, at all events we cannot allow it to do so in a description of the Peninsular War. "Concomitant miseries," moreover, by no means suits the sufferings which a man underwent when tossed about in the Bay of Biscay in a sailing ship. It would be too fine a term even for a Peninsular and Oriental steamer. "Sanitation," "definitional genius," and "a shimmering skirt," Miss Stirling should leave to writers who take liberties with our language in every page of their books. Her English is, generally speaking, so correct that such blots as these, which would pass unnoticed in many authors, when seen in her excite our wonder. We must not conclude, however, with a word of censure, but must thank her for a very pleasant and interesting story.

#### FRENCH LITERATURE.

SIDONIUS APOLLINARIS (1) cannot claim any special distinction as a writer; his style is spoilt by the affectations which, even long before he began to make himself known, had invaded Latin literature. Belonging to the same intellectual family as Lucan, Seneca, Statius, Claudian, and Ausonius, he exhibits all the faults of those poets in an aggravated form; and we may give some idea of his utter want of taste when we say that, having to address an important personage to whom he had inscribed his collection of poems, he begins by devoting no less than three hundred and fifty lines to a statement of what that collection is not. The great fault of Sidonius Apollinaris was his extreme facility, and the readiness with which he could dash off pages of verse *stans pede in uno*. Unfortunately, when the subjects he had to treat belonged to the old property-stores of heathen religion, to Mount Parnassus, or to the origin of the Empire, not being able to find in his own imagination fresh ideas which he might work out in an independent manner, he was satisfied with throwing about them the tawdry garb of a meaningless rhetoric. That Sidonius Apollinaris has nevertheless risen during the last half-century to the dignity of an author frequently quoted and made much of, is owing to the social rank he occupied, and to his peculiar position as a kind of link between the Gallo-Romans and the barbarians. Whenever he has to touch on the character of the invaders, to describe their customs, and to relate their deeds, he becomes most interesting; and the accuracy of the information he gives makes us forget to a certain extent the puerility of his style. We are therefore glad to welcome the beautiful edition of his works just published by M. Baret; it is indeed a scholarly volume, and we can cordially recommend it to our readers. It contains the whole productions of Sidonius Apollinaris, arranged in chronological order, with an introduction, notes, and index.

In archaeology as in science, almost every day brings forth something new, and it may be remarked of works such as those of Mr. F. Lenormant, Sir G. Wilkinson, M. Oppert, and others, that they constantly need revision and completion. The Abbé Vigouroux forms no exception to this rule; the book we have

now to notice (2), originally published two years ago, in two volumes, now appears with the addition of a third volume, besides a number of supplementary matters scattered throughout the work. The history of Assyrian discoveries, and the rules for the deciphering of hieroglyphic and cuneiform inscriptions, claim especial mention, and it is evident that the author has carefully studied all that German, English, and Italian antiquaries have written on the subject since the attention of scholars was directed towards the literature and religion of the Egyptians, the Assyrians, and the Persians. The third volume is taken up by a history of the Jews in the Holy Land during the period included between Joshua and Solomon. We need scarcely say that M. Vigouroux takes the strictly orthodox point of view; he writes well, and has the gift of making erudition interesting. The illustrations which are added to the work also deserve honourable mention.

In writing his clever and interesting monograph on Gregory Nazianzen (3), M. l'Abbé Montaut sets himself to refute ecclesiastical historians belonging to almost every section of the Christian Church, who, he conceives, have formed wrong ideas of his hero, and misinterpreted the principal incidents in his life. Albert Tollus, a learned critic of the seventeenth century, and the celebrated Arminian scholar, Jean Leclerc, represent the Protestant line of thought in this controversy, and the latter especially is severely called to account on the score of what the Abbé Montaut deems his systematic malignity. Ellis Dupin is the Jansenist divine whom the Abbé finds fault with, and it is well known that the first volumes of his *Bibliothèque ecclésiastique*, including, of course, the biography of Gregory, were denounced by Bossuet as erroneous and dangerous. Dr. Newman is charged with calumniating the prelate as unfit for the government of men; Dr. Ulmann ought not to have described him as wavering on account of the extraordinary manner in which he joined mysticism and practical activity; and finally, the Duke de Broglie is the greatest of all the offenders, because he has, in his work on ecclesiastical history, combined all the errors of previous critics, setting before our eyes a figure of Gregory, dramatic and highly wrought indeed, but essentially contrary to the truth. Without entering into these controversies, we may say that the Abbé's treatise is a valuable contribution to the history of patristic literature, and the chapter on the prelate's poetical compositions is well worth attentive study.

M. Ravaissón's *Archives de la Bastille* (4), now increased by the publication of a tenth volume, only take us as far as the year 1702, and therefore we suppose that at least one more instalment will be issued, in order that the reign of Louis XIV. may be completed. The period at which we have now arrived is one of comparative quiet at home and of a dull regularity which was the result of the despotism successfully established by Louis XIV. As M. Ravaissón remarks, France had become one huge barrack, and the public mind seemed plunged in a torpor from which it woke up only when the death of the King brought the Duke of Orleans to the head of affairs. The Protestant question occupies an important place in this volume. When the treaty of Ryswick was signed the Huguenots had petitioned foreign Powers with the view of obtaining liberty of conscience; but Louis XIV., irritated at their boldness, replied by confirming the old decrees established when the Edict of Nantes was revoked, and by ordering them to be enforced with increased severity. From the documents here published M. Ravaissón believes, however, that the position of the Huguenots was really improved, and that arrangements for that purpose had been settled at Ryswick in secret clauses appended to the treaty. Another topic which the reader will find illustrated in this volume is the severity displayed by the King against satirical or political writers. The freedom with which the Dutch press criticized the acts of his Government irritated him beyond description. Unfortunately he could not prevent pamphlets from being smuggled across the frontier, but woe to the persons discovered in circulating or helping to circulate such inflammatory matter. The anxiety which the King constantly felt about the state of public opinion in Paris must not be forgotten; the émeutes of the Fronde period were always present to his memory, and he knew the importance of steadily keeping in view the material well-being of the mob and the bourgeoisie. Hence a number of decrees for the purpose of securing a cheap and abundant supply of provisions of every kind in the markets of the capital. Some readers may be surprised at not finding in this volume even the faintest allusion to the mysterious "Man in the Iron Mask," but M. Ravaissón tells us that, having resolved to publish no document which had already been in print, he found that every scrap of information respecting the celebrated unknown had been long since before the public, and commented on from every point of view. At the same time he gives us his own opinion about the prisoner in question, whom he believes to have been a French naval officer sent to Candia by the Grand Vizier in order to negotiate the exchange of the Duke de Beaufort, whom Louis XIV. had entrusted with the command of an expedition against the Turks.

The Société de l'histoire de France has just brought out a new

(1) *Oeuvres de Sidone Apolinnaire, texte Latin, accompagné de notes, etc.* Par Eugène Baret. Paris: Thoin.

(2) *La Bible et les découvertes modernes en Palestine, en Egypte et en Assyrie.* Par F. Vigouroux. Paris: Berche & Tralier.

(3) *Revue critique de quelques questions historiques se rapportant à St. Grégoire de Nazianze.* Par l'Abbé Montaut. Paris: Thoin.

(4) *Archives de la Bastille. Documents inédits recueillis et publiés par F. Ravaissón.* Vol. x. Paris: Pedoue-Lauriel.

edition of one of the most delightful books which the French sixteenth century can boast of (5)—namely, the biography of Bayard by the "Loyal Serviteur." Who that excellent writer was no one seems to have been able to find out, till M. Roman undertook to give us a careful reprint of the work, correcting in many instances the text which the learned Godefroy adopted in 1616 and 1619, and which has been ever since scrupulously reproduced. Without attempting anything like a discussion of M. Roman's preface, we shall merely observe that, according to him, the "Loyal Serviteur" was a certain Jacques de Mailles, who during Bayard's life remained in constant attendance upon him, and who after his death became the steward or agent of the family. The notes added to the volume are good as far as they go, but they might have been advantageously increased; and the appendix contains not only what we possess of Bayard's correspondence, but letters written by his contemporaries, illustrating various points in his life and character. Some critics have endeavoured to detract from the merit of the "Loyal Serviteur's" composition by calling it the last of the romances of chivalry. To a certain extent the title is deserved, for the style is too persistently that of panegyric, and not a few of the deeds recorded almost border upon the miraculous. Notwithstanding these qualifications, the biography for which we are indebted to Jacques de Mailles is still a masterpiece of style and a valuable historical document.

The name of M. P. F. Dubois (6) is scarcely known to the present generation of French students; but those who remember the French University during the reign of Louis Philippe will not easily forget the brilliant director of the Ecole normale, the founder and editor of the *Globe* newspaper, the publicist of wide and generous sympathies, who in the lecture-room, the press, and the Chamber of Deputies was the constant and indefatigable champion of freedom. With all his brilliant qualities, M. Dubois never aimed at being an author, and all his literary productions amount to a few short articles contributed chiefly to the *Globe*. In fact, the chief interest of these two volumes lies in M. Vacherot's preface, which gives a detailed account of the circumstances connected with the foundation of that newspaper, the staff of writers employed upon it, its position in the periodical press of the Restoration epoch, and the influence it soon obtained both at home and abroad.

Don Pi y Margall (7), who was for just thirty-six days President of the short-lived Spanish Republic of 1873, had obtained considerable reputation as an author when the revolution of September and the votes of the Barcelona Assembly summoned him to Spain from Paris, where he was residing as an exile. The book, of which a part is here translated into French by M. de Ricard, contains Don Pi y Margall's political programme; avowedly inspired by the study of Proudhon's works, it is designed to show the advantages of the federal principle as applied to Spain. There is no reason to doubt the perfect good faith with which the writer advocated a posterior theory.

After having published a Life of Voltaire in eight volumes, M. Gustave Desnoiresterres gives us now a Voltairean museum (8), containing a reproduction of all the portraits for which the celebrated writer sat at various periods of his life. The collection, as might have been expected, is a large one, beginning with Largilliére's painting, done in 1718, when Voltaire was twenty-four years old. We agree with M. Desnoiresterres that we have here a smart young man, *espègle, à la mine éveillée, brillant, avantageur*; but we cannot bring ourselves to admire his features even then, and the odious wig of the period would spoil the finest face imaginable. As for the famous statue of Pigalle, the greatest worshipper of Voltaire has never found a word to say in its favour; and M. Desnoiresterres acknowledges that "it was not thus that the author of the *Henriade* should have passed down to posterity." If Pigalle deserved to be called the modern Phidias, it was certainly not on account of the hideous statue which tourists can still see in the crypt of the church of Sainte Geneviève at Paris.

The Société des anciens textes français, organized on the plan of our Early English Text Society, has already issued several publications of great value, considered both from the literary and the philological point of view. Its latest instalment is the first volume of a collection of miracle plays on Old Testament subjects (9), and we learn that the cost of this elegant octavo is paid by Baron James de Rothschild, himself a distinguished mediaeval scholar and critic. Side by side with the mysteries or miracle plays treating of the life of our Saviour, it was natural that a repertory should be compiled on the various subjects presented by the books of the Old Testament; and thus a series of dramas has been handed down to us, to which various poets have contributed, and which is known as *Le mystère du vieil Testament*. Sixteen of these form the first volume, preceded by an excellent introduction, in which we have numerous bibliographical and literary details calculated to illustrate the subject.

We lately saw M. Emile Burnouf in the character of a church

(5) *La très joyeuse, plaisante et récréative histoire du gentil seigneur de Bayard.* Composée par le "Loyal Serviteur." Publié par M. Roman. Paris: Renouard.

(6) *Fragments littéraires de P. F. Dubois (de la Loire inférieure).* Publié avec une notice par M. E. Vacherot. Paris: Thorin.

(7) *Les nationalités, essai de philosophie politique.* Par Pi y Margall. Traduit de l'Espagnol par L. H. de Ricard. Paris: Germer-Bailliére.

(8) *Iconographie Voltaireenne.* Par G. Desnoiresterres. Paris: Didier.

(9) *Le mystère du vieil Testament.* Publié par le baron James de Rothschild. Paris: Didot.

historian; the volume now before us contains some of his essays on antiquarian topics (10). They are published as they originally appeared, and we regret that they are not accompanied by a preface, and still more that no index has been added. Some one remarked lately on the shortcomings of French books in this respect; when the questions discussed and the facts quoted are as abundant as they seem to be in M. Burnouf's volume, a full alphabetical table of contents is indispensable, and it is taxing the reader's patience too much to expect that he will wade through four hundred octavo pages in quest of a date or a statement. The disquisitions here collected, amounting to nine, are of unequal lengths, the two principal ones treating of the Parthenon and the western suburbs of ancient Athens. Classical Greece has furnished the theme for all these papers except the first, which is taken up by considerations on prehistoric times and on the Bronze age, and the second, which recapitulates the efforts made to ascertain the site of Troy, and which endeavours to appreciate the value of the labours of Dr. Schliemann. The engravings added at the end are scarcely worthy of the text.

M. Vart's volume on Cardinal Bessarion (11) is creditable to the scholarship of the much-abused University of France. The first condition required from an author who attempts to give us an account of Bessarion is, of course, that he should have read Bessarion's works; but who, except M. Vart, ever had the patience to do so? The next condition is that he should know what has been written about Bessarion by his panegyrists, his adversaries, and his correspondents of every kind; few, we venture to say, have carried their enthusiasm on the subject so far. In his eagerness to be complete and accurate M. Vart has visited Venice in quest of *inédits* documents, and he has been rewarded by the discovery of several important pieces. Thanks to his labours, Bessarion has now a chance of being known and appreciated. Not that he can claim the distinction which belongs to men of genius, to leaders in the Church, in politics, or in literature, for he failed in nearly everything he attempted; and, after having vainly endeavoured first to reconcile the Greek and Latin communions at the Council of Florence, and next to bring about a crusade with the view of rescuing Constantinople from the Turks, he sought in study a consolation for the ill-success of his favourite scheme, collected books, both printed and manuscript, became the centre of a learned academy, and helped on the cause of the Renaissance. Five years of diligent research have enabled M. Vart to give us all the details about the erudite Cardinal which time has handed down to us; the composition of this work has been for the author a labour of love, and it will, we hope, meet with the success it deserves.

It is not always that authors can give five years to the elaboration of a monograph, and M. Henri Hervieu's interesting essay on the first French States-General (12), written in answer to the programme of a subject proposed by the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-lettres, had to be done somewhat *currente calamo*; but this did not prevent the author from being rewarded with an honourable mention to which he was well entitled. Thanks to M. George Picot's voluminous work, we now know pretty well the history of the French States-General, beginning with the reign of King John; but previously to the publication of M. Hervieu's essay we possessed few details as to the national assemblies convened from Philip the Fair to Philip de Valois. As far as the qualities of the antiquary and scholar are concerned, we have nothing to do but to praise the treatise before us; all the resources of the French Record Office have been put under contribution, and the smallest incidents connected with the subject have been duly noted and registered. M. Hervieu's defect is want of system and inexperience as a writer; but this is a fault which further practice may correct.

If the age of Louis XIV. was that of wars, it deserves no less to be called the age of congresses and diplomatic negotiations; and the fame of Turenne, Condé, Catinat, and Villars was equalled by that of statesmen such as Servien, D'Avaux, Pomponne, and De Lionne. The last-named of these politicians has been already mentioned in our columns in connexion with a volume published a few months ago by M. Valfrey; and we have now a series of his letters edited by M. Ulysse Chevalier (13), which, without elucidating any historical fact or casting any new light upon the public career of the French Ambassador, give us a curious picture of French society in the reign of *le grand monarque*.

The second edition of M. Denis's *Histoire des idées et des théories morales dans l'antiquité* (14) is merely a reprint of the first, and we only mention it here because valuable works on the progress of ethical science cannot be too often recommended. We may remind our readers that M. Denis has aimed at nothing less than a complete survey of the systems of philosophy which prevailed in Greece, treated from an independent point of view, and on the assumption that every one of them possessed an element of truth. The analyses of the various theories are carefully done, and the two volumes are written in a clear and agreeable style.

(10) *Mémoires sur l'antiquité.* Par Emile Burnouf. Paris: Maison-neuve.

(11) *Le Cardinal Bessarion: étude sur la Chrétienté et la Renaissance.* Par M. Vart. Paris: Didot.

(12) *Recherches sur les premiers Etats-Généraux.* Par Henri Hervieu. Paris: Thorin.

(13) *Lettres inédites de Hugues de Lionne.* Annotées et publiées par le docteur Ulysse Chevalier. Valence.

(14) *Histoire des idées et des théories morales dans l'antiquité.* Par M. Denis. Paris: Thorin.

M. René Kerviler (15) began some time ago a series of monographs on the early Académie française, intended to supplement the well-known works of Pellisson and D'Olivet. They are excellent contributions to the history of French literature. Marie and Pierre Cureau de la Chambre have sat for a couple of sketches; they both belonged to the *Précieuse* society, and although, as authors, they did not leave behind them anything worth remembering, yet their letters and other remains serve to illustrate a number of points in the social and intellectual life of the seventeenth century. Abel Servien is certainly better known than the two Academicians just named. He was a distinguished politician; and, during the years between 1629 and 1659, there were few negotiations of importance in which he was not engaged. The Académie française has often numbered amongst its members persons whose only recommendation was that, as *grands seigneurs* and frequenters of Versailles, they could obtain for their needier friends pensions, gratuities, or other substantial marks of favour. Servien was, no doubt, useful in that respect; but it is only fair to acknowledge that he enjoyed considerable reputation two hundred years ago as an elegant prose writer, quite worthy of being placed, in that capacity, on the same line as his friend the great *épistoliere*, Guez de Balzac.

(15) *Marie et Pierre Cureau de la Chambre. Abel Servien, négociateur des traités de Westphalie.* Par René Kerviler. Le Mans: Pellechat.

We are indebted to the LORD CHIEF JUSTICE for the means of correcting an error, for which we are not responsible, which occurred in our article of April 19 on the case of Edmund Galley. His Lordship says:—"Misled by an accidental error in the correspondence as printed in the Western Times, you represent me as having taken the opportunity of the excitement produced by the Habron case to press the case of Galley on the attention of Mr. Cross. This is an entire mistake. My letter to Mr. Cross was written, not in March 1879, as the date was erroneously printed, but in March 1878; though it was not till March 1879, just twelve months later, that the answer of Mr. Cross was given."

## NOTICE.

We beg leave to state that we decline to return rejected Communications; and to this rule we can make no exception.

## THE UNITED STATES.

The Annual Subscription to the SATURDAY REVIEW, including postage to any part of the United States, is £1 10s. 4d., or \$7 58 gold, and may be forwarded direct to the Publisher, Mr. DAVID JONES, at the Office, 38 Southampton Street, Strand, or to Mr. B. F. STEVENS, American Agency, 4 Trafalgar Square, London. International Money Orders can be sent from any office in the United States, and Subscriptions, payable in advance, may commence at any time.

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The Negro Migration. The Reciprocity Crise.  
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## CONTENTS OF No. 1,228, APRIL 26, 1879:

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ARTISTS' GENERAL BENEVOLENT INSTITUTION, for the Relief of Distressed Artists, their Widows and Orphans. The ANNIVERSARY DINNER will take place in Willis's Rooms, on Saturday, May 17, at Six o'clock. The Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of PETERBOROUGH in the Chair. Donations will be received and thankfully acknowledged by:

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THE NORTH LONDON COLLEGiate SCHOOL for GIRLS.—The SUMMER TERM will begin on Tuesday, May 6, 1879.

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£200 will be allowed for passage and other expenses incurred in proceeding to Port Elizabeth, where the successful Applicant will be required to assume office on August 1 next.

Applications, with copies of Testimonials, to be sent in, on or before May 15 next, to each of the following Referees:

H. J. JOHNSON, Ponsonby House, Ullet Road, Liverpool.

J. H. HARSANT, New Road, Rochester.

JOHN PATERSON, Esq., 55 Earl's Court Square, London, S.W.

From either of whom any further particulars may be obtained.

London, April 17.

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The Salary is £100 per annum, with a Capitation Fee, at present fixed at £2 for each Boy; and £25 in the first instance, until one is provided by the Governors. The average number in the School for the last four years has been about eight.

A New Scheme for the Government of the School has recently been approved by which the Governors are to erect a Master's House and School Buildings to accommodate not less than one hundred and fifty Day Scholars and thirty Boarders.

Four Exhibitions of £50 a year, tenable for three years, by Boys intended for the Ministry of the Church, and two appropriated Scholarships at St. John's College, Oxford, tenable for five years, are attached to the new scheme.

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A copy of the New Scheme and other particulars may be obtained of Mr. T. H. KIRBY, Clerk to the Governors, Coventry; to whom applications and testimonials must be sent under cover, sealed up and marked "Governors of Grammar School—Head-Master," on or before May 10, 1879.

[May 3, 1879.]

**TEMPORARY EXCHANGE of DUTY.—A RECTOR,** Sea Coast Lancashire, Parish with genial climate, would Exchange for about Six Weeks, May and June, with **Inhabitant of a first-class London Parish;** each to lodge, &c., himself. Pony and Carriage offered as inducement.—Address, X. Y., care of Adams & Francis, Advertising Agents, 52 Fleet Street, E.C.

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219, 25 LIME STREET.	245
26 GREAT TOWER STREET, and 10 LITTLE TOWER STREET.	560 lbs.

Particulars and Plans of the Premises may be had at this Office, together with the Conditions of Sale.

Tenders must be sealed, and endorsed outside "Tender for Freehold Ground Rent, No. 14 Aldgate," &c., stating the place, as the case may be, and be addressed to the undersigned at this Office, and must be delivered before Twelve o'clock on the said day of Treaty.

Parties sending in proposals must attend personally, or by a duly authorized agent at Half-past Twelve o'clock, on the said day, and be then prepared (if their Tender be accepted) to pay the required deposit of 10 per cent. on the purchase money, and to execute an Agreement for the completion of the purchase, agreeably to the Conditions of Sale.

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April 24, 1879.

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GEORGE CUTLIDGE,

Actuary and Secretary.

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May 3, 1879.]

## The Saturday Review.

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